6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

Malokula

The following is an example of topical verse. This poem was composed for and performed at festivals held to collect money to buy a boat for Haapai. The boat was called the *Malokula*, and the people of Haapai are also *malokula* (red-sashed). This has been their distinguishing mark in war, and in the peaceful contests of the dance and sports.

Lovely is our festival,
And our dancing contest,
Red-sashed here we meet in Tonga.
Let be Vavau and Haapai
That they struggle like men of the sea,
That is as their wont.
But do in the manner of great Tonga,[1]
Festival held from place to place,
And many are they who gather.
And we meet well-pleased in Pangai,
Compete, but in friendly wise,
And finish in mutual liking.
Warm are the feelings for "Malokula,"
And the majesty of the Leaf-of-pua,[2]
But indeed it is not a little voyage.[3]
Our dear rejoicing and rivalry,
Hihifo and the district in the center yonder,
And the poor castaway from the weather coast.

Chorus
Aue, step it and return,
Dancing hands towards the center, for our hands are moving badly,
Youth, come dancing hither, for that is but our way,
Let us step it with attention,
And dance in unison,
For our feet are out of time.

Laughter of Women [1]

Laughter of women plucking *hingano*,
In the darkness climbing up and down;
Let us go at dawn to pluck *omoko*,
Gather hala that falls in ripeness,
Our fragrant adornment for festival.
Neck-wreaths as we go up from surf-riding.
Fakalikutonga from Finehika,[2]
Langakali and *moonia*,[3]
Portulaca and *tinatila*
For adornment of a wedded matron,
But give it to Fuaahoia,[4]
Then rejoicing carry on the dance.
If there be a stranger let him give attention
To the one accustomed to the *siale-tafa*,
New-comer yonder do you look upon
The completed snaring on Matamoana,
And the *pipi* from Fakimamana,[5]
And the *heilala* of Namalata,[6]
To twine about the necks of singers on the deck
Of a boat in darkness on the deep.
Like a dove with its wings a-flutter
Is the *omoko* of Holaavaka;[7]
I shall twine a garland from Mohekae-langa,[8]
And give to a pleasing companion,
When the fishers go up from Halaka-kala,
And sleep in Utulongoaa.[9]

Chorus
Stranger come that I may tell,
Newcomer who hast not yet seen
The headlands and the blossoms;
And it wins the heart,
And is lovely friend,
For that it is that wins the heart of me.

If There Be a Stranger

If there be a stranger let him harken to me,
Aue, folk, come dancing hither[1]
My tale that is told
How stands the town of faded garlands.
When the sun is near its setting,
And straightway the wind blows on Alaki,
And the calm falls on this strand.
I shall go down to Haapuopuai,[2]

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

tree; but its Tongan name is Malumalu o Fulilangi (Shade of Fulilangi). It is not known who is the Fulilangi thus distinguished, but the name was not uncommon among the Tui Pelehake, and has also been borne by other chiefs.

2. Leolava (Many voices) is probably so-called because people from many parts, including other countries, for example Fiji and Samoa, congregated here in the entourage of the Tui Tonga.

3. The town that is pleasing (*kolo fakalata*) is Mua, the Tui Tonga's capital, scene of many pleasures.

4. Kolongahau is a stone wharf near the old-time residence of the Tui Haatakalaua. There is also reclamation work here, undertaken when the place became the residence of the Tui Haatakalaua.

5. The word *sunufea ni* is unintelligible. Probably it is the corruption of a foreign word, not unlikely the English tern. In the last stanza of the poem the line about the wind from the north includes the word *fea-uini* (fair-wind).

6. "Smooth white sand" is a conjectural translation of *fala-sina*, white mat. The word *fala*, mat, is often used of smooth sward or sand, and *hina*, not *sina*, is the usual Tongan form of this word.

Page 118. A song of fragrant flowers

1. Nua or Lotonua is a place name. There is a locality called Nua in Mua, the chief village of eastern Tongatabu, and the old seat of the Tui Tonga.

2. The names *tuitui*, *lavalava*, *nusipalataha*, and *lalaheilala* are of various types of leaf and flower ornaments for the neck and bosom. The generic name is *kahoa*. These, and other flower and leaf ornaments are *kakala* (sweet-smelling things).

3. Other types of flower ornaments are *fakaotusia*, *alamea*, and *fakalotu*; *fakaotusia* and *alamea* apparently are decorations for arms and ankles (*vesa*).

4. The *langakali* is a flower.

5. "Sleep in sea-water:" the flowers and leaves of a plant are sprinkled with sea-water, and left all night (*faka-mohe*) and thus their full fragrance is brought out. At night the fragrant flowers are placed underneath the wooden pillow, and so sweet are the scents that they "distract the mind."

6. The double plaiting round the top of the sisi leaf girdle is called *funganiua*, the bottom one *laloni*, and the flower *hingano* is twined into it.

7. Types of plaiting of the leaf and flower ornaments are termed *veevee*, *tuituivao*, *paangapulupaki*, and *fakamatamoana*.

8. To plait blossoms together without stringing on anything is called *koko*.

9. Ribbon, of the inner bark of the fau is called *lou*.

10. Latai, a pool on the reef, near Laulea, the famous surfriding place on the weather coast of eastern Tongatabu.

11. The "town of faded garlands" (*kolo ngatutai*) is Mua, whither at the time of festivals are brought so many garlands, which finally, are thrown aside and fade.

Page 119. Malokula.

1. Tonga, meaning Tongatabu.

2. Leaf of *pua* (the King, George Tupou I).

3. An enterprise large enough to collect sufficient money.

Page 119. Laughter of women

1. This probably may be considered as a love poem, at least in part. Direct expressions of love and passion are extremely rare in Tongan compositions. The references to sport, fishing, pigeon-snaring, and surf-riding are partly literal and partly figurative of the pursuit of love, and throughout is the sense of the pleasantness of woman's companionship.

2. Finehika is a locality in Mua.

3. The *moonia* and the *tinatila* are plants. *tinatila* is said to be like a passion-flower. Probably both are late introductions.

4. Fuaahoia is the nickname of a chief.

5. Fakimamana; locality in Mua.

6. Namalata; place name in Eua (?).

7. Holaavaka; beach in Eua (?).

8. Mohekaelanga; place probably in Eua.

9. Utulongoaa, the rocky coast of eastern Tongatabu.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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262 half of its meals. Women in the other households were
[226] apparently not prepared or not able to spend any or much time on the reef.

[252] The staple fruit for all households at this time of the year is papaia, generally eaten after being baked in an oven. Oranges are beginning to ripen at this time but the villager
[439] is barely interested in them. Ripe bananas are reserved for
[434] feast-occasions and for possible export in order to increase the money-income of the household. One family in the village raises pineapples, but these are for export only.

Chicken and pork figure but rarely in the day-to-day diet. They are reserved for feast-occasions. The average villager probably eats either or both about once a week or even more occasionally, depending upon the frequency of feast-opportunities.

264 Formerly, food was always eaten outside of the dwelling
178 or sleeping-house. Today, this is still general practice. People eat in the cook-house, or under raised sun-shelters, or in the open air. Some few of the villagers, however, will sometimes serve a special feast inside the dwelling-house. There appears to be no particular reaction to this on the part of their guests although their forefathers of not many generations back would surely have felt horror if invited to enter a dwelling-house and there eat food.

262 In his study of the psychodynamics of Marquesan
264 society,[13] Kardiner uses as one piece of evidence for the
121 existence in the Marquesas of food-anxieties the fact that
114 "notwithstanding the adequacy of techniques of and organization for production . . . there is first of all an over-valuation on eating itself, the emphasis falling on bulk and not on quality." Whatever the value of the other evidence that Kardiner adduces (cannibalism, *tapu* surrounding eating and cooking, etc.), one is inclined to suspect on the basis of this Tongan material that the facts of quantity-eating must be used with great caution when applied to a Polynesian people if inferences are to be drawn regarding fundamental food-anxieties in a Polynesian culture. In the first instance the Tongan tends to eat but one major meal

[13] Kardiner, A., *The Individual and His Society*, New York, 1939, 220.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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574 comparatively large sum of money for the purchase of a new
437 boat, a cart, or a house. Thus, Hausia wished to buy a large
432 Tongan-style house with an iron roof from its Pangai-born
262 owner who had left the village to live at Tongatapu. Hausia proposed to remove this house from its present site and
[435] erect it on his own house lot. The price of the house was fifteen pounds. Hausia had saved up five pounds. He wished to raise the rest of the purchase-price as soon as possible. He announced to the village that he would hold a food-distribution on a certain day. For this distribution he slaughtered all his pigs and one cow. He also prepared large quantities of food. On the day of the distribution, members of each Pangai household and visitors from all the nearby villages visited Hausia. They were given food to eat and a section of pork or beef to take home. In return each visitor
574 left with Hausia from two to four shillings as a gift towards
437 the price of the new house. At the end of the day, all Hausia's
432 food had been eaten, all his meat given away, but he had
431 acquired about twelve pounds in money. It may be noted that the villagers do not think of this transaction as a sale. They make a gift of money because money is needed. Hausia makes a return-gift of meat because it is a desirable food. By this gift-exchange, Hausia raises a substantial sum of money while villagers and visitors get plenty of food to eat and meat to take home.

Income and Expenditure

434 As will be evident from the following discussion, Pangai
511 operates today partly on a self-subsistence economy and partly on a money-economy. Food for the everyday diet is largely raised through gardening and does not involve the expenditure of money. Additional delicacies for a feast, however, generally necessitate recourse to the store. Money-
[432] economy is more importantly involved in the purchase of clothing, soap, kerosene, matches, and the like.

434 Perhaps the best way to show the manner in which this
511 money-economy is geared to the everyday life of the villager
592 is to present in some detail the income- and expenditure-accounts of two Pangai households.

Sesoni and his household (2 adults and 5 children) can very well be taken as representative of the average village

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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family. He has an *api* of about ten acres, part of which he uses for gardening, part for the growing of coconuts and bananas. His income from the sale of copra and bananas is about £10 a year. His fixed expenditures for twelve months were:

Government rent for *api*		8s 0d
Government poll-tax		£1 16s 0d
Church contributions		£2 0s 0d
	Total	£4 4s 0d

This leaves Sesoni about £6 a year for expenditures on clothing, kerosene, soap, matches, tobacco, and extra foods for his household. The money buys very little of these extra items. But Sesoni seems to get along well enough.

A second record is that of Biukala. His household consists of four adults and five children. His is a higher standard of living because of the fact that he has come to control by inheritance and immediate renting three *api* in Pangai and one *api* in Tongatapu and has had some initiative in growing vegetables for sale to the Europeans in Neiafu. He is a young man, a graduate from the government college in Nukualofa, with definite ideas of raising his status and that of his children. In this he is a-typical. In other words, he is not the easy-going villager. He is a man with a mission in life. His budget, therefore, is not typical of the other villagers. It may be given in detail, however, to show by contrast what a high standard of living is for a Pangai household.

TABLE 8.—INCOME AND EXPENDITURE
7 months (June-December, 1938)

Income	£	s	d	Expenditure	£	s	d
Sale of copra	6	3	0	Poll-taxes	1	8	0
Sale of garden produce	10	19	6	*Api* rents	1	0	0
Sale of tobacco leaf	3	8	6	Church gifts	3	8	0
Sale of pigs	1	17	0	Son's birthday feast	3	7	6
				Food, seeds, clothing	2	19	3
				Christmas gift to mother	5	0	0
Total	£22	8	0	Total	£17	2	9
				Cash balance	£5	5	3

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434 511 592 [651] [427] [794] Some further notes may be added concerning Biukala's expenditure. His poll-tax payments include his own as well as those of a man from the island of Uvea who has taken up residence in his household and who assists in turn with gardening and copra making. The rents are for three *api* in Pangai and a fourth in Tongatapu. Church gifts include the quarterly offering of 6/-, together with a special missionary offering of £2 0s 0d and the gift to the church of a can of kerosene. Biukala, obviously, is a very strong functioning member of the church. For the first birthday [527] of his only son to whom Biukala is greatly attached, the father made a large feast. Besides large quantities of Tongan food (including an additional pig which had to be purchased), Biukala bought from the store such foods as flour, sugar, fish, spices (his wife has learned to bake cakes), melons, canned milk. He also bought as a birthday-gift for his son a fathom of piece goods to make a *vala* for the infant. This birthday-feast in consequence, is remembered as one of the really big village functions of the year. The [432] other store expenditures of these months include the usual soap, kerosene, flour, sugar, canned meat, canned fish, and piece-goods for *vala* as well as seeds for his garden. [431] Biukala's mother lives on a town-lot in Nukualofa. Here money economy is much more important than in Pangai, and his substantial gift was doubtless of great value to the mother.

434 439 It is not possible to estimate with any accuracy the total income of Pangai village as a whole. Money is obtained principally from the sale of copra, bananas, and pineapples, and from services. Of these sources, copra sales are highest on the list, sale of bananas second, the sale of pineapples and services (stevedoring for one or two men, occasional work in a store), far below the others. Some few men in the village make a point of being vitally interested in banana exportation. Each of these men tries to prepare from eight to ten cases of bananas for export about five or six times each year. He receives from three to five shillings per case, depending on market price. About five other men in the village occasionally export one case of bananas each. Thus, under the most favourable conditions, each man in the first group may add perhaps £10 to his yearly income and each

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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of the second group anything from 10s to £1 per year. 434 439
Owing to various factors governing the export of Tongan bananas, not only from Tonga as a whole, but also from Vava'u in particular, these "most favourable circumstances" are more often conspicuously absent than inconspicuously present.

Two trading-stations are maintained in Pangai. They 439
are owned by two of the trading-stores in Neiafu. The 443
storekeeper of each station lives in Pangai. He draws a 434
small monthly wage and is responsible for cash-sales at the station as well as the buying of green copra at prices set by the Neiafu principals, and the drying of this green copra on the station drying platforms. In 1938, according to figures [433)
supplied by the Neiafu owners of these two village-stations, about 115 tons of copra were produced by Pangai village. [435)
This was valued according to prices then ruling at about £430. The total village-income from copra production for that year was therefore about this sum. Again, according to figures given by the trading-stores, the cash sales for the year 1938 made by these two Pangai stations totalled just over £306.[15] This last figure does not, of course, cover the total store expenditure of the Pangai people. Some few of [504)
them occasionally go to Neiafu to visit friends or relatives. They then take the opportunity to spend what cash they have available in the larger stores where they can gaze upon shelves and shelves full of merchandise and groceries to their hearts' content and for the consideration of some minor purchase.

The two village-stations give credits according to the 443
discretion of their managers. That this involves risks and 452
necessitates good judgment is suggested by the fact that 439
during the auction of the stocks and assets of one large store in Neiafu that had closed down, more than £1,000 worth of book debts were sold for £5. The opening bid was

[15] From the viewpoint of personality study we would still be [124)
interested to know why the Tongan manager of one of these village-stations produced at our request, and after the most herculean labours, an itemized account of store sales which purported to show that his store did a cash-business of well over £1,000 for the year 1938 when the books of the European owner of the business showed cash sales of £146! Very likely our good Tongan friend was dreaming of the day when he was going to be the owner of the largest store in Neiafu.

goods (used for making the *vala*, dresses, etc.), shirts and vests are vitally important in order to conserve what might be called a decency-status in village life.[16] Soap and blue are similarly necessary to keep both clothing and the person reasonably clean. Tobacco for the villager is more than a luxury, specially when alcoholic liquor is practically unobtainable. Reels of cotton, though costing relatively little, play a vital part in clothes-repairing. Lastly, teething-powders, which account for almost one quarter of the expenditure on the items with which it is grouped in the table above (one per cent. also out of total store expenditures), perform the incredibly useful function of keeping teething infants from wailing wretchedly day and night and thus preserve a sufficient measure of quiet for adults to sleep. (Expert medical opinion in Tonga suggests that the frequent use of these teething-powders, which generally contain a large measure of powerful drugs, is one not unimportant contributory factor in a high infant mortality among the villagers. But it is hard to convince a Tongan of this fact; all the more so in that adults, children, and infants all share the same floor at night and the frustrations imposed upon one who would sleep by the wailing of a toothache-racked child can always be relieved by administering teething powders to the infant.)

The percentage-distribution of sales as set forth in this table refers only to one of the two stores in the village. There is no reason to think that the general percentages and proportions would be materially altered were it also possible to include sales from the second store in the village and also sales made to villagers from the several stores in nearby Neiafu.

Although some few men in the village obviously have a greater yearly income of money than the majority, there are as yet few signs of any tendency to reckon social prestige in terms of wealth-accumulation. The village overseer, the

[16] By Tongan law, rigidly enforced, men and women (both Tongan and white) must cover with clothing upper and lower parts of the body. Considerable ingenuity is exercised by those pleading before Tongan courts in order to determine what constitutes for men an upper garment that infringes neither law nor decency. Apparently a necklace does not constitute an upper garment but a shirt collar with hardly more than a tatter of shirt hanging precariously to the collar, is considered to be well within the law!

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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The village overseer, the school-teacher, the pastor, and a man like Biukala who controls three *api*, all find that they are respected for the fact that their additional wealth makes it possible for them to expend more in the giving of feasts. Power, that is, that comes from relatively great wealth is used mainly to increase the size and frequency of one's feasts. To these feasts most of the household heads of the village are invited. Or if they are not invited, then part of the food on display trickles back to their household through gifts to close relatives. Thus, many in the village share in a large feast even though a relatively few only may actually be present at the eating of the food displayed. There are always obligations to be paid off to this household or that. Food given as a gift from one feast may actually change hands several times before it is all finally consumed: each household having a part in this chain of exchange will take part of the food-gift and then pass the rest on to another household to whom it has an outstanding obligation. Probably no single factor will produce greater changes in village life than the accumulation of money for power, rather, than as at present, the use of money to gain prestige through feasts. But this change is not yet significant in village life.

CHANGES IN CRAFT-ACTIVITIES

In considering the various aspects of craft-activities and the place they occupy today in village economic life, one sees evident signs of change which suggest something of a decay in craft-techniques. In fishing-activities for instance, few men bother with net- or line-fishing. Fish of any sort are fairly rare in the daily diet. Not that the villagers have lost a taste for fish. Whenever an occasional successful fisherman blew a whistle in the village to announce that he had fish to sell, those who had money to spare would rush to buy. On these occasions we could give no more acceptable gift to neighbouring friendly families than a block of fresh fish. The fact that fish is a delicacy today goes along with this lack of interest in fishing. This indifference to the sea, noticeably strange in the descendants of a great sea-going people such as the Tongans formerly were, comes out also in other ways. Thus, Pangai is situated on a rise within one hundred yards or so of a beach. Two or three other

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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178 tinned fish. It is apparently easier for the villager to buy
178 a tin of beef from the store than to fish, even though the beef
262 is the bull's toughest cut. But to buy the beef, you need
[432] money, and money you get by cutting copra to sell to the local
[434] store. Thus, the villager has tended to concentrate on his
plantation and on his copra. From this point of view, the art
178 of fishing is being so rapidly lost that the sea is becoming
226 about as interesting and as important to the villager as it
823 is to the average large city-dweller in our own society.

178 The villager does not bewail the loss of his techniques.
181 He would become a mere sentimental antiquarian if he did, especially where new methods and novel appliances are more efficient than the clumsy and inefficient techniques of a past age. Where he might well feel, however, that the balance-sheet shows him in the red is in the arts of fishing and cooking and in the loss of the arts of leisure—the arts of dancing, singing, and playing. Here Christianity has taught
[177] him that play is mere idleness, dancing is sinful, and singing
[795] respectable, provided only that the music and words are concerned with sacred topics. As a result, the villager plays cricket and football in brief seasonal spurts and nothing at other times. He sings loudly in church, rarely at any other time. He leaves dancing to untutored children who dance in no tradition except that of their own making. All in all, change in these arts of leisure has given the villager time to spare. But for the *kava* circle and its saving sociability, he would tend to kill his time and then wonder why happiness so often eluded his searching.

THE HOUSEHOLD

592 The Pangai household consists of that group of individuals living together which uses the same cook-house for
[513] the preparation of common meals. Generally this group uses but one sleep-house. A further sleep-house may be necessary however, if the numbers of the household are large.
592 The relationships of the persons making up the individual
602 households (as determined by a census taken of all the
[125] households in the village) consist of twenty-six different groupings of kin. Omitting for the moment the biological groupings of parents and children, there are represented ten types of patrilineal relationship of household members to

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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733 276 sleepy during the day. Instead of working in his garden, the addict spends his daylight hours asleep. Poverty and a lack of food are characteristic of his household. Those who are recognized as the hardest workers in the village are conspicuously those who rarely drink *kava* in the evenings or who are content with two or three rounds only of *kava* before going to sleep.

276 593 733 Domestic trouble arises because the drinker generally deserts his household to drink elsewhere. This is illustrated by the case of the heaviest drinker in the village. He drinks *kava* several times daily. His own house is small and unsuitable for *kava*-parties. It is also very close to the bush that encircles the village and close therefore to the numerous and malevolent evil spirits *(tevolo)* that haunt the bush after nightfall. This makes the house a dangerous place in which to leave a wife and small children without adult male protection. Hence the addict's wife is continually angry because of this desertion. There have been frequent domestic brawls and the wife has occasionally deserted her husband. Moreover, this addict rarely works in his gardens. He leaves gardening to his aged father who is recognized as definitely "queer" by the villagers (the father shuns company, is given to long solitary walks, talks softly to himself: the very antithesis of the sociability-loving Tongan). Much of the money the addict obtains from his school-teaching he spends buying *kava*-root at the store. Thus the household is poor in every respect.

276 733 This addict is an extreme case of *kava*-craving. Village opinion does not of course consider the fact that he may have become an addict because of certain personality difficulties which have of themselves made his domestic life unsatisfactory. This would be a somewhat sophisticated view for the villager to try to comprehend. Hence he simply takes it for granted that excessive *kava*-drinking is the cause of all troubles. His conviction is perhaps rendered more certain by noticing the results when some of the more daring young men have emptied a bottle of whisky into a full *kava* bowl and then swallowed the resulting concoction. (There are very stringent, enforced laws against drinking the white man's liquor or beer—only very occasionally could this happen.)

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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646 671 836 684 party. The Government carried the motion by a bare majority of two. That evening Mataka read it to the king, sitting at the old man's feet. When the fateful words were reached Tubou expressed his disapproval, and declined to sign until it had been taken back to the House for further discussion. The news leaked out, and at the [643] next division the Ministers were left alone. A Tongan has no convictions that are not shared by his king.

646 These debates were useful to us, for they enabled us to sift the dispositions of the members, and to gauge our chances of overcoming opposition in the more important 646 651 debate on the Customs. As soon as our position seemed sufficiently secure, we determined to skip the intermediate 439 part of the Code, and at once attack the chapter dealing with the tariff. The announcement was made without warning, so that we might hear the views of the members [434] themselves without prompting from the Europeans. I told them that the Customs at present produced a revenue of about £6000 a-year, which we could not afford to do without unless the expenditure was considerably reduced; but that before proceeding further with the Code, we must know the views of the House regarding the continuance of the *tute*, as they called the collection of Customs dues. If they refused to raise revenue by this means, it would be a waste of time to pass an elaborate Customs law. There was some whispering amongst the Commons, and William rose to ask a question. If the Customs were abolished, what would happen? To this I replied that the revenue must be raised by increased direct taxation, or by a reduction of the expenditure by one-third. Vili Tai wished to know whether it was

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 OU9 Tonga OU9

Allotments are granted as one of three types of life leases. The usual one is eight and a quarter acres of bush land at the low rent of eight shillings a year, together with a free building site in a village. Applicants may also be offered the choice of twelve and three-eighths acres of bush land, without a town site, but at the reduced rental of four shillings. It was hoped that this alternative would tempt people to move from congested areas, but so far little advantage has been taken of it. The third system is very recent, and permits nobles, subject to Cabinet approval, to grant people on their estates holdings of fifteen acres, made up of the usual tax allotment plus five acres at a nominal rent. So far only one estate has used this system. It is rather surprising, and perhaps disturbing, to find that there is a fairly large and growing number of taxpayers who have not applied for an allotment, either because they prefer to wait for their fathers' holdings, or because they have found employment in other occupations than farming.

No man can hold two allotments although Cabinet may agree to his holding extra land. To retain his holding he has not only to pay rent and taxes, but also to comply with the planting regulations which require all farms to have at least two hundred properly spaced coconut trees growing within the first year of occupation, as well as sufficient food crops for the support of the tenant's family. The Department of Agriculture, working through the town officers, both assists and compels tenants to fulfil these obligations. Here is a system of tenure which recognises the importance of land as a community asset, removes it from the dangers of soil mining and commercial speculation, makes it available on easy and uniform terms, and recognises that good husbandry is more important than high rents. Economic democracy and social security are its natural consequences. Every commoner can obtain the same amount of land as his fellows and on the same terms. His allotment is sufficient to provide him and his dependants with food and with most of the other requirements of the Tongan standard of living. He need never fear unemployment, want, exploitation, debt or loss of independence. In all normal circumstances his economic welfare depends upon his own efforts.

Government and Administration

Political democracy is much less developed. Supreme executive authority rests with the Privy Council over which the Queen presides, and to which she appoints all the Tongan members. The only European

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 OU9 Tonga OU9

241 Before the civil wars he used to live on his farm, but today it may be
[461] some distance from his home in the village. Four days' not too strenuous work a week is usually enough to provide for his family's needs. A few friends may join together to do work on each other's farms, but arrangements of this sort are quite irregular.

241 About half of a typical farm consists of an unkempt area devoted to
311 the permanent cultivation of coconuts, and the remainder of a number of small plots cleared from a general area of bush and weeds. Less than half of it will be in use at any time since spelling is practised to conserve
241 fertility. Yams, bananas, and corn are planted on the better land, as are the tapa trees, a species of mulberry from whose bark the women fashion a coarse cloth. Taros thrive on less fertile soil, while kumalas and tapioca do well on comparatively poor land. Bananas and tapa trees are left to grow for three years on the same spot, but the food plants are shifted every year. Intermingled with these major crops may be found pineapples, paw-paws, breadfruit, mangoes, kava, tobacco, cotton, chillies, ginger, candlenuts, citrus fruits and a few European vegetables. Somewhere on the holding it is usual to raise sugar cane for thatch, reeds for house walls, pandanus for mats and baskets, and various shrubs for scents and dyes.

A farmer in Tonga Tabu will have about 250 yams, 200 tapioca plants, 100 kumalas, 100 banana trees, and 50 pineapple plants. These figures are fairly typical for the whole Kingdom but some variations occur. In Ha'apai holdings are smaller and more carefully cultivated, with fewer yams and more tapioca; in Vavau there are fewer kumalas but more breadfruit and corn; in the Niuas breadfruit replaces yams as the major food crop.

231 Primarily an agriculturalist, the Tongan makes little use of animals.
He keeps perhaps half-a-dozen fowls, three or four pigs, and occasionally
[492] a goat or cow for butchering rather than for milking. Usually he owns a horse but does not use it for any farm work except carting. Sheep
262 are not raised at all. To relieve the monotony of a largely vegetarian diet he resorts mainly to fish, which is plentiful everywhere.

434 For a moderate amount of work, then, the Tongan's allotment
241 provides him with food, housing materials, tapa cloth, mats and baskets. Besides these necessities it affords him a few small luxuries such as kava,
434 tobacco, scents, dyes, and native substitutes for soap. When he requires cash to pay taxes or rent, to meet Church subscriptions, or to buy a few store goods, he has only to harvest some of his copra or bananas.

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 OU9 Tonga OU9

From the standpoint of his own needs, therefore, the Tongan is an efficient enough farmer, but if European standards are considered his farming leaves much to be desired.

One of the first things to impress the outsider is the enormous waste of land, for, apart from a few clearings for the food plants, the farm is largely given over to prolific weeds. Equally glaring are the primitive methods of cultivation. Machetes, spades, push hoes, and an occasional fork are the only implements used, and no appreciation is shown of the use of animal manure or of any other fertiliser. Reflection will suggest, however, that these conditions may not be entirely due to agricultural backwardness. Intensive cultivation would exhaust the soil, and in the absence of local supplies fertilisers would cost more money than the Tongan could afford. Weeds may rob the soil of moisture, but they do not exhaust its fertility and have at least the merit of preventing soil erosion. Undoubtedly much more could be produced from the average farm, but probably only if fertilisers, cattle and implements were provided on a scale beyond the resources of most farmers.

To a certain extent the general faults of Tongan farming may be excused. It is less easy to justify the defects of its particular branches, apart from a recognition that they may arise not so much from a lack of ability or energy as from a lack of agricultural training and capital. Many of the crops and especially fruit are ravaged by serious diseases and pests, which the farmer does little to control beyond avoiding to plant obviously damaged material. The copra is of relatively poor quality, commanding inferior export prices because it is produced, harvested, and dried in a very haphazard way. The Tongan usually gathers it only when he needs money for some specific purpose, and this casual attitude, together with the infestation of weeds about the trees, leads to a considerable wastage of nuts. There are few hot-air driers in use, the greater part of the crop being rather carelessly sun-dried.

Perhaps the worst of the Tongan farming is animal husbandry. Not only is the stock inadequate and of poor quality, it is also badly cared for. Systematic efforts to provide feed are rare, the animals being left to forage for themselves. It is not surprising that they are scraggy creatures, too often suffering from serious diseases. Tuberculosis is particularly rife in both cows and pigs. There is little attempt either to control these diseases or to improve the stock by breeding.

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 OU9 Tonga OU9

into Tongan consumption is shown by the following list of per capita expenditures in 1938: Biscuits 11d; Butter 8d; Drapery 6s. 4d; Flour 4s. 9d; Tinned meat 4s. 7d; Soap 1s. 3d; Sugar 1s. 9d; Kerosene 1s. 0d. (est.). A typical household probably spends about £6 a year on store goods, but it should not be thought that this modest outlay reflects satisfaction with the Tongan standard of living. The people are eager to buy imported commodities, particularly drapery, tinned meat and kerosene, but are severely restricted in their purchases by low cash incomes. Imports always respond closely to exports, and exports depend overwhelmingly on the price of copra.

Copra has always been by far the most important export, and during the last twenty years it has been Tonga's misfortune that copra prices have fluctuated about a steeply declining trend. In the decade after 1924 they fell from £20·5 a ton to £5·9, recovered to £13·1 in 1937, but fell again to £6 in 1941. As a result export income shrank from about £270,000 a year in the early 'twenties to £104,000 in the late 'thirties. The Kingdom's dependence upon this erratic and precarious source of income has been relieved by a growing export trade in bananas which began in 1932 when the New Zealand government allotted banana quotas to the various island groups, and gave Tonga 20 per cent of the Fiji quota. In 1938 shipments amounted to 11,000 cases for a return of £35,000. Since then the quotas have been lifted and the New Zealand f.o.b. price raised from 7s. to 9s. a case, with the result that Tonga exported £36,000 of bananas in 1942. Bananas now account for a quarter of Tonga's exports, and it is to be hoped that this valuable and stabilising addition to export income can be retained. It will be if Tonga is allowed to keep its present share of the New Zealand market.

Direction of Tongan Trade

The Director of Agriculture has tried to diversify exports further by developing a trade in peanuts and tapa cloth. After testing various seeds he succeeded in establishing a small production of peanuts and in disposing of them in New Zealand. Twelve tons were shipped in 1942 at the satisfactory price of £30 a ton. A strong local demand developed, however, with the arrival of Allied troops and killed this promising export trade. A market was found for tapa cloth in Britain which took forty-four tons in 1941 at a price of £20 a ton, but exports ceased when the spread of the War to the Pacific created insuperable

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 OU9 Tonga OU9

shipping difficulties. These setbacks are probably only temporary, and Tonga can look forward to developing a modest, but useful, trade in both peanuts and tapa after the War.

Apart from them the only likely addition to the export trade is fruit. Before the Great War Tonga had a profitable fruit trade with New Zealand, but in 1941, an exceptionally good year, it amounted to less than £2,000 worth of pineapples and melons. Tonga produces excellent qualities of these fruits; the only problems are transport and markets. New Zealand could well afford to extend a little generosity to Tonga in regard to markets, especially as New Zealand exports about five times as much to Tonga as it imports.

During the present century Tonga has built up considerable overseas investments out of its trade surpluses. Since Tonga has no foreign debts its investments place it in the select coterie of creditor nations, with foreign assets equivalent to four years' normal revenue. This exceptionally liquid position is necessary to a large extent since the country's money income depends so largely upon the vagaries of the copra market. There is, nevertheless, a definite anomaly in this small and economically backward nation lending nearly all its savings to wealthy countries like Australia and New Zealand. It is impossible, in view of the Director of Agriculture's very specific proposals for economic development, to believe that there are no avenues for sound investments in Tonga, especially as some of the developments suggested would lessen the need for large overseas funds by reducing the country's dependence on imports.

Health

The standard of health is rightly considered a major test in judging the efficiency of a native administration. That the Tongans are basically healthy can be seen from their fine muscular physiques, and confirmed by their moderate death rate and their satisfactory rate of natural increase. During the five years 1934-38 their birth rate averaged 3.82 per cent, their death rate 1.41 per cent, and their rate of natural increase 2.41 per cent. These figures compare very favourably with those for Fiji, American Samoa, and for the New Zealand Maori. There are no figures available for expectation of life but the Tongans are decidedly not short-lived. There are plenty of old people, including a few centenarians, while senility is listed as causing about one-eighth of the total deaths. Tuberculosis, which accounts for about a fifth, is the

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 OU9 Tonga OU9

£15—having a thatched roof, reed walls, and an earthen floor. Their construction ensures dirt, dust and damp. Health would certainly improve, along with comfort, if they were required to have wooden floors and more satisfactory roofing.

Tonga has long had a system of free medical benefits. These are provided by the Medical Department which has a hospital of fifty beds at Nukualofa, one of twelve beds at Ha'apai, and one of twenty beds at Vavau, all of them equipped with operating theatres. In addition there are dispensaries in both the Nuias and also in Eua. A European doctor is head of the Department, and a European matron runs the Nukualofa hospital, but the rest of the staff is entirely Tongan, comprising thirteen medical practitioners, ten nurses, four dressers, and two dispensers. Their work comes up to a high standard, and they are more suitable for dealing with their own people than Europeans are. There is a high turnover of nurses through marriage, but not a wastage, since ex-nurses play a very valuable role in their villages as voluntary medical workers and educators. Such education is needed because the Tongans are not only inclined to be careless about their ailments but also to be suspicious of western medicine.

Tonga's Attainments and Prospects

This sketch of modern Tonga describes how a small oceanic peasantry has made a way of life which is suitable to the dignity of free men, in harmony with the requirements of economic justice and full of promise for the future. The Tongans are unique and significant in being the only independent people of the Pacific; subject, it is true, to the control of the British Colonial Office in foreign affairs and to its supervision over public finance, but in all other respects free from the domination of a master race and secure in the possession of their national heritage. Continuity has been preserved with traditional institutions, and modern impacts have liberalised rather than destroyed them. This liberalisation is far from finished and may well lead to the development of a mature Polynesian democracy.

Tonga provides its people with a modest, but adequate and secure income; modest because its cash value probably does not exceed £50 a year, adequate because it provides them with enough food, clothing and housing to keep them well and happy, and secure because it is largely independent of economic fluctuations. The Kingdom is far

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 OU9 Tonga OU9

from rich, but it is free from the hardships of real poverty, the poisons of economic inequality, and the degradations of a proletariat.

On the cultural side the void created by the collapse of the old religious beliefs has been more than filled by Christianity and the missions have been tender of other aspects of Tongan culture. The traditional music and handicrafts have all been encouraged along with a pride in the past. New interests have been provided by church choirs, stringed instruments and brass bands, and by the introduction of European sports like cricket. Education in English, history and geography has opened up new intellectual horizons, even if rather slowly and to too limited an extent.

Tonga's Future

If left alone to work out their future the Tongans can face it with hope and confidence. Much can be done to develop agriculture and to add new branches to it. Progress in this field holds out the hope, not only of better diet, larger real incomes, and a lessened dependence on foreign trade, but also the prospect of new vocational interests to enrich village and family life. Co-operative societies to spread agricultural knowledge, to market produce, and to operate equipment such as copra driers are already under way. New crops, animal husbandry and cotton weaving could all develop so as to give people more interesting lives as well as better standards of living. A new interest and activity is being shown in education, and real attempts are being made to develop it in the directions most needing reform. The new teachers' training college, in particular, should have valuable effects upon the quality of Tongan education, and should stimulate further educational reform.

These opportunities, however, will not be realised unless there is vigorous, imaginative and generous leadership. Tonga appears to be at a turning point—it can either move forward to a healthy nationhood or become a stagnant backwater of the Pacific. The dangers of such a decline cannot be ignored, even if they should not be exaggerated. The country's history reveals a great past, but the driving energy that made that past is not so very evident to-day. Boatbuilding and seamanship, which were once responsible for the subjection of central Polynesia, are now badly decayed. Other crafts still survive but can hardly be said to flourish. There are disturbing indications that the declining powers of the chiefs may lead to the passive acceptance of a

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

quarter to which the eye may be turned, the land appears clad with their graceful foliage, down even to within a few feet of the sea itself. Proximity to the ocean, and a sandy soil, appear rather to favour than to hinder the rapid and healthy growth of the tree. Some of the finest and tallest specimens are met with on the shores of the lowest islands. In such situations they attain an elevation of eighty and even ninety feet. Hence an approaching voyager discovers the tufted heads of these palms in the distance, long before the land itself, upon which they grow, becomes visible.

The natives reckon at least nine different kinds of cocoa-nut trees, for all of which they have distinctive names, such as, the *niu-kafa*, *niu-ui*, *niu-leka*, &c. All these are known and included under the generic name of *Niu*; so that Dr. Seemann appears to be in error when he says, that "the Fijians are the only people who in their barbarous state had a collective term for the great natural order of palms." *

In addition to the multifarious uses to which every portion of this tree has been devoted, from time immemorial,† the natives now derive from it a large revenue of wealth, by the manufacture and exportation of cocoa-nut oil. Nothing of this kind was done, of any importance, before the year 1846. At that time the Missionaries adopted various measures calculated to encourage the manufacture of the article, and to facilitate its sale to resident foreign traders. They also explained the duty incumbent upon professed converts to the Christian faith, and especially upon all members of the church,

* Dr. Seemann's "Viti," p. 367.

† Ellis's "Polynesia Researches," vol. i., pp. 50-59.

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

of personally contributing to the support and extension of missionary agencies. These measures resulted in the commencement of a commerce that has since reached considerable dimensions, and still continues to extend every year; while the native churches now meet the total expenses of the Missionaries, Native Ministers, and religious institutions amongst them. The islands have also been brought thereby into much closer, and more frequent, intercourse with the Australasian colonies of Great Britain.

The present mode of making oil is both rude and wasteful. With proper machinery, double the quantity of oil could be obtained from the same number of nuts now used. By the present native system from sixty to seventy nuts are required for every gallon of oil: whereas by the use of suitable machinery one gallon can easily be obtained from only thirty good oil-yielding nuts. Some persons very competent to judge, have not hesitated to say, that this quantity can readily be expressed from even twenty nuts. But, be this as it may, the value of a plantation of cocoa-nut trees, properly attended to, may soon be calculated: and, where the nuts of this prolific palm have been allowed, hitherto, to perish on the ground by millions every year, there must certainly be a good opening for European appliances and industry. The estimated produce of a full-bearing tree is from ninety to one hundred nuts per annum. A plantation therefore, of a few thousand trees would yield a good income. Already several of the residents, who, in by-gone days, landed on the shores of these islands, destitute wanderers, have, through the assistance of the Missionaries, and by the development of this

31: Nayacakalou E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1959
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(iii) Females living within the household may have *api* of their own which they have inherited themselves, e.g. a wife's mother.

(iv) Sometimes there is a time lag between the death of one holder and the accession of another.

(v) There do occur little connivances in these matters, especially where the person concerned is either related to or on specially good terms with the nobility.

This explains the case of households which have more than one *api*. But there are 27 households which have no *api*. One of these is where an old woman is living by herself without an *api* but the rest are cases where men are heads of households without *api*. Of these 26, 20 are men from another village or locality, and only 6 are men from this village. Of these 6, 2 have *api* in another village, and 3 others have just recently set up household on their own while still working land held by their fathers or elder brothers.[23]

Of the 20 men who come from another village, two have *api* in their own villages, two others are using *api* belonging to others, and 16 are sharing the use of the *api* of their friends and relatives in the village.[24]

Of the 27 households which have no *api* of their own in the village, 4 have *api* in another village, 4 others are using *api* the owners of which are away, and the remaining 19 share the use of the *api* of others. Of these 19, 13 share the *api* of one other household, 4 those of two others, 1 those of three others and 1 those of four other households.

By making these kinds of arrangements, the villagers are able to cope with circumstances not contemplated within the legal framework, though not strictly by illegal manipulation. The system, therefore, has some overall flexibility, the source of which is, of course, little more than the willingness of the people to share the *api* under their legal control with those people who have none.

Finally, something may be said about the relation of the distribution of land under this system to the distribution of money income in the village. Under the conditions of my field work this was a difficult question to investigate as I was not in the field long enough to introduce and discuss topics of this kind. But a small number of observations may be made. The main sources of money income from the land are copra and bananas, and a considerable amount is also earned from the sale of vegetables and garden produce. The price of bananas is about 10/- per case and there are two shipments each month; thus B's and C's statements at pp. 102-3 provide some basis for calculating the amount that an individual may earn by the sale of bananas. On the sale of garden produce I have no figures; but from the records kept at the offices of the Copra Board in Nuku'alofa I was able to obtain some figures relating to copra production. From a list of 80 odd names of persons from the area of this village kept by the Board, I was able to recognise 25 as the names of heads of households which appear in my notes. The

[23] The arrangement is a temporary expedient until *api* of their own are found.

[24] See secton on Land Use, p. 107.

31: Nayacakalou E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1959
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The Board's records showed the total amount of copra sold to it by these persons during the year 1957; and from these figures, taking the price of copra as £40 per ton,[25] a rough estimate can be made of how much money the sellers received. These figures, together with those obtained from my data on the distribution of both land and adult male labour among the households concerned, are presented in the following table:

TABLE 2A

DISTRIBUTION OF MONEY INCOME FROM SALE OF COPRA[26]

Household	No. of Adult Males in Household	No. of *Api* in Household	Amount of Copra Produced (tons)	Income from Copra (£)
1	1	0	.14	5.6
2	1	1	1.75	70.0
3	1	1	1.65	66.0
4	1	1	1.65	66.0
5	1	1	.18	7.2
6	2	2	2.15	86.0
7	1	1	1.80	72.0
8	1	1	.19	7.6
9	1	3	.36	14.4
10	1	1	1.65	66.0
11	1	1	.24	9.6
12	2	1	1.38	55.2
13	2	2	3.35	134.0
14	1	1	2.49	99.6
15	2	1	1.78	71.2
16	2	1	5.99	239.6
17	2	2	1.79	71.6
18	1	1	1.00	40.0
19	3	3	3.99	159.6
20	1	1	1.72	68.8
21	1	2	1.67	66.8
22	1	1	1.63	65.2
23	2	1	.90	36.0
24	2	1	1.38	55.2
25	1	2	.92	36.8

The same data may be presented in summary form to show the covariation between amount of labour, amount of land, and income more simply:

TABLE 2B

No. of Adult Males per Household	No. of Households	Total No. of *Api*	Average *Api* per Household	Total Income (£)	Average Income per Household (£)
1	16	19	1.2	761.6	41.35
2	8	11	1.4	748.8	93.6
3	1	3	3.0	159.6	159.6

[25] The price during 1957 was in the region of £43, but just before I left Tonga the new price of £38/15/0 per ton of first grade copra had been announced by the Board, which buys all the copra produced in Tonga. The round figure of £40 is taken for convenience.

[26] Interesting comparison may be made with the figures in Beaglehole 1941:60ff.

31: Nayacakalou E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1959
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This sample is too small, but for what it is worth in the absence of a larger sample, the correlation coefficients between labour and production and between land and production suggest that money income varies more readily with the quantity of labour available than with the amount of land; i.e. a man is more likely to obtain a greater income by working harder than by increasing his land holding.[27] Uneven as it is, therefore, the distribution of land exerts only a minimal influence upon the amount of money obtained. This may partly explain why an uneven distribution of land tends to be left undisturbed; but this latter tendency may be tolerable only at the present level of economic development and may tend to disappear at a higher level.

6—Land Use and Labour

The legal provision relating to the planting of coconuts at intervals of 30 feet is, by and large, followed consistently on the majority of the *api* I have seen. Amongst the coconut trees there would be food and cash crops of several types, bananas, taro, yams, sweet potatoes, *manioke*, and even pineapples and water melons. In general, these are not planted in sharply defined plots but are interspersed one amongst the others, so that in an intensively cultivated *api*, members of all species would be found on each square chain of ground. This is more or less the general pattern, although there may be varying degrees of emphasis upon particular crops in particular parts of the *api*. Varying the pattern of emphasis would appear to me to play a similar role to straight out rotation.

The coconut trees belong to the planter but are heritable with the land on his death or secession; and as their normal productive life is 50 or 60 years, they may change hands several times during their lifetime.[28] But the other crops, requiring from three to eighteen months to mature, are the property of the planter, whether he be the legal holder of the land or not.

The distinction between permanent and annual crops makes it easier to understand all the sharing of *api* referred to in the previous section. For while the current holder of an *api* owns the coconut trees and other permanent resources, he need not have the whole *api* under the less permanent crops at any one time.[29] This gives him room to permit a friend or relative to plant for himself a crop of taro or yams

[27] My calculations produced correlation coefficients of r = .32 and r = .54 for land and labour respectively.

[28] The evidence of the 107 *api* which I studied shows that several of them had changed hands twice or thrice in the previous five or six years.

[29] The Beagleholes quote a man who estimated that up to twenty cultivators and their families can live off one *api*, Beaglehole 1941:18, but it is not clear whether this refers to an ordinary *api* of 8½ acres or to one of the larger ones which may be up to 20 acres in area, Beaglehole 1941:17. In this connection it may be interesting to note that in a village of about twenty households which I studied in Fiji, the total area covered by food crops in various stages of development was found by detailed measurement to be 8.1 acres for all households.

31: Nayacakalou E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1959
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9—Some Concluding Observations on Land Tenure in Tonga

There is no question that in legal conception the Tongan land tenure system is fundamentally individualistic in character. Land titles, which we saw refer to usufruct only, are granted in the name of individuals, not of social groups; and insofar as it is consistent with the provisions of the law, such individuals can and do enjoy their rights absolutely as individuals. They are at liberty to confer the benefits of those rights upon whom they please, provided it is not for profit and not upon an alien; and there is room for individuals to move from one *api* to another, again provided that certain conditions are satisfied.

But the law makes certain highly significant restrictions upon this individualism. For instance, one is denied the right of disposal of one's property—a feature normally associated with individual title. This provision hinders the development of an open market in land, and therefore denies the system the benefits of such a market. One such benefit is the ability of labour and/or capital to move freely between different pieces of land; this possibility is limited here. Such freedom of movement, moreover, is itself limited by the provision that one's *api tukuhau* and *api kolo* must be in the same locality. By and large this means that people can obtain land most easily only in the village of their fathers or, at any rate, in the *tofia* area of their own traditional chief (moving to a new area entails breaking new ground socially, economically and, in a sense, legally as well). Therefore, insofar as they follow the path of least resistance, they tend to be confined within such a *tofia* area; and insofar as this applies, the limiting proviso could potentially lead to unnecessary congestion in conditions of rapid population increase, and could also be a serious setback in a developing economy, for freedom of movement is an important condition for an economically efficient distribution of land.

From the economic point of view, therefore, such restrictions are bad. But such a stricture implies certain assumptions about economic organization which probably do not apply to Tonga. Indeed it could be argued that at the present stage of economic development in Tonga, the land tenure system has certain social advantages which probably more than outweigh the economic weaknesses. Thus it seems clear that apart from a strict and precise definition of the major concepts which govern the land tenure system, the land law of Tonga has made few really significant changes, and we have seen that some of these changes are not strictly recognised in social practice. The most important set of conditions (that which concern the relation of the landlord to his tenants), therefore, remain largely unaffected. The *tofia* holder still has, in practice, much authority with regard to the control and distribution of land; and the people's obligations to him in regard to social and economic service are still in force. But in addition, the chief now enjoys an extra income from the tax on land, and from the extra lands which he holds himself. In this way the land tenure system actually bolsters up the traditional political system by giving it powerful economic support. Moreover, through the provisions relating to inheritance, the system is brought into close relation with one of the most

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

tensions and compulsions towards growth at subsequent points.'[29] It is not easy to reconcile such a proposition with the Tongan situation. Firstly, Nuku'alofa is not, at least as yet, a 'growing point' in the economic sense, for it lacks the industrialisation which is the 'dynamic force' of development.[30] With barely seven percent of those employed engaged in some kind of part-manufacturing or processing, it generates little of its own wealth. Secondly, with so many of its people dependent on agriculture and with a low per capita income, Nuku'alofa does not stimulate agricultural growth in the outer islands. Lastly, it has virtually no private sector capable of providing investment and government funds are directed mainly towards transport, and services, most of these in Tongatapu.

The resources of Tonga are limited. Agricultural exports accounted for 97 percent of all exports in 1967; coconut products representing 49 percent and bananas 45 percent. As the greater part of the income of government, which is the main investor and employer, is derived from these sources, the level of agricultural production is of vital concern for overall development.[31] The promotion of tourism may increase income levels in Nuku'alofa to the extent where this will ultimately 'trickle down' to the outer islands, and sizeable aid from Britain may ensure an adequate infrastructure for development, but development itself seems firmly based in agriculture, for, with such limited resources, industrial development and growth must originate in the countryside.[32] If this proposition is correct, concentration of resources in Nuku'alofa is unlikely to generate economic growth, at least for a long time, and with population increasing at its present rate this may be too long a time to wait if social harmony and the present social order is to be maintained.

In the meantime, copra production has declined by 50 percent (1957-67), and while banana production has increased by over 280 percent, most of this increase has come from Tongatapu which produced 83 percent of exports in 1967.[33] The low level of copra production can be traced largely to neglect in one form or another, and this is likely to affect trees now being planted with British government aid money. I would suggest that neglect stems mainly from these causes:

1. Agriculture generally is held in low esteem, and this influences the amount of money devoted to agricultural development.

[29] Hirschman (1958): 190, 184.

[30] See Myrdal (1957): 29.

[31] The quasi-government Copra and Produce Boards are in this sense included with 'government'.

[32] For criticism of development fund allocation see Walsh (1967a).

[33] Banana exports 1967 (percent): Ha'apai 9.7, Vava'u 0.8, 'Eua 6.3; Copra exports 1967 (percent): Tongatapu 48.5, Ha'apai 20.2, Vava'u 23.9 (the highest for seven years), other 7.3.

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

2. Growers suffer from a lack of incentives. One example of this is the low price they are paid—45 percent of that obtained by the Copra Board.
3. A feeling of malaise and neglect by government in the outer islands. They have received directly only about 10 percent of development moneys, yet government needs to be *seen to be active* in this and other ways.
4. A fatalism which assumes that God and Government will eventually provide, which obviates the need for individual action.
5. The panacea of tourism, the discovery of oil and other ventures that are expected to produce Kuwait-type returns. This obviates the need to turn seriously to agriculture.

In a society where initiative belongs to the chiefs, government is the only significant innovator. As most of the reasons for low production seems to be cultural in origin, cultural solutions are most likely to solve them. This, initially, means a reappraisal of priorities and a reallocation of funds; a close examination of present methods of land use and land tenure; a revised education system which places less stress on academic learning; and the use of radio and other media to 'play-down' the attractions of Nuku'alofa and Tongatapu, for these are often highly exaggerated in the minds of the islands' population. Only direct government intervention can reduce migration to a rate where it more closely approximates economic development.[34] And as all of Tonga is a 'backward area' in relation to the countries with which it has economic connections, direct government intervention from these countries is also necessary to stimulate and maintain development. This, basically, requires better trade and shipping conditions and a higher rate of investment, not an increase in aid which in itself is unlikely to stimulate growth.

CONCLUSION

In summary, population movement is not new in Tonga. While some older patterns, such as dispersed settlement, the full occupance of the smaller islands adjacent to Tongatapu and 'Uta Vava'u, and the siting of settlements in areas where there is a balance of land and sea resources, appear to have gone or been severely modified, other trends suggest the re-establishment of older patterns—the resettlement of some of the volcanic islands, possibly a more widespread use of the interior of islands, and the pre-eminence of Tongatapu and its capital, Nuku'alofa, which in a limited political sense could be considered the modern counterpart of ancient Mu'a with all its attendant powers of central authority. Other patterns continue—population moves among

[34] Cf. Myrdal (1966): Chapters 3, 4.

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

are not reluctant to ask for help from their *famili;* one may *kole* (ask) foods, money, land use for cultivating or housing, and so forth. And one who is asked for something by one's *famili* would not refuse it. In case they borrow a portion of *api tukuhau* of their *famili,* they can usually plant and harvest any crop they like. The only exception is that the borrower has no right to get the coconuts from trees already planted. The coconuts are the chief source of the cash income for the villagers. When I asked them "What do you pay for the use of the land?" a common answer to this question is that he (she) is my *famili,* which suggests their idea that they do not have to pay to their *famili.*

Prohibition of Marriage

Marriage prohibition extends bilaterally towards the farthest relationship. If two persons recognise themselves as belonging to the same *famili,* even if their actual relationship may not be traceable, they must not marry. A man and woman in the same generation in the same *famili* stand as brother and sister; the former should respect and protect the latter. But in a different village, I know of a couple consisting of a man and his father's (classificatory?) sister's son's daughter. The story about their marriage is as follows. They had lived in the same village and the boy fell in love with her. Every time he came to see the girl, her parents suspecting their immoral love, sent him away. But one day they ran away to Nuku'alofa to get married. After they came back, the bridegroom and his father visited his wife's parents, taking with them food which had been cooked in an *umu.* Then on the evening of the same day, her mother brought bark cloth and mats to their house for the bridal bed. Now, they are apparently not blamed either by their parents or by the villagers because of the run-away marriage, and her mother was not ashamed to tell me the story. Anyway this remains an exceptional case.

Famili functions in a field of co-operation and marriage and prohibition. On the other hand a *famili* organisation does not necessarily operate at all since the group for co-operation need not extend beyond the household. A person needing another's help, may ask the members of his *famili* individually. In short, in the Tongan way, more emphasis is put on the interpersonal, individual relationship than on the group relationship. The next chapters will report the kinship behaviour centring upon the relationship between individuals.

V The Interpersonal Relationship

Kinship Terminology

The terminology of Tongan kinship system has already been precisely described by Gifford, I will touch on some variations from his statement. He wrote about *tamai* that all male and female relatives of the father and in his generation are said to be called fathers.[15] But so far as I could know, this usage of *tamai* is not so extensive today. It includes the father and the father's brothers in classificatory sense, but not female relations of the father. In the same way, I am not certain if *fa'e* includes

15. Gifford 1929: 28.

take care of (tauhi) them (the old couple)".

Besides expenditures for everyday material needs, a household must have the cash for periodic outlays to pay members' expenses such as income taxes, the annual poll tax on every male over the age of fifteen, church contributions, and schooling expenses for the children, as well as to buy store-bought goods such as clothing and fabric, households utensils, and other implements. Such purchases and expenditures generally require relatively large cash outlays that are seldom provided for through systematic savings. Instead, members of the household make a special effort to assemble the money shortly before it is needed. Men collect coconuts to make copra, or else sell the undried coconuts directly to the Tonga Copra Board, while women prepare handicrafts for sale to tourists (especially the tourists who flood in on the periodic one-day stopovers of cruise ships that visit Tonga). There is noticably more copra-making activity and also a particularly well-stocked handicrafts bazaar in the weeks preceding a new school term, when money is needed for books, uniforms, and school fees. Usually, people try to make more money than is needed for the major outlay at hand. What is left is doled out to provide cash for everyday needs until another major effort is made.

Finally, a household must have the means for its

associates whom they have assisted in the past. This is not to say that the household is considered to be the unit that makes the contributions, for contributions are viewed as coming from individuals. The household itself is the unit in feasting activities only when a member of the household is hosting the feast. Nevertheless, when a person makes contributions to a feast at another household, he does this with goods from the common pool of resources in his own household. The greater a household's participation as a contributor through the contributions of its members, the more assistance the household will receive when it comes time for a household member to act as host.

While a household is not expected to be self-sufficient when it comes to hosting a feast, it must be able, in one way or another, to provide for the other material needs of its members (i.e., everyday material requirements, periodic cash outlays, and the means of making adequate contributions on ceremonial occasions). To do so, however, the household must have the means of access either to the products of an agricultural allotment or to the income from some job, and preferably both. Without one or the other, no household in Tonga is viable (although it is true that there is less need for cash on the more remote islands, and less likelihood of access to a job away from Tongatapu).

In 1970, 42 households in Motulahi had no source of

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

592 cash income other than the production and preparation for
511 sale of coconuts and/or copra. In other words, almost 30
434 percent of the households in the village had no-one in the household engaged in any income-producing activity besides the basic Tongan pattern of peasant production. Sources of household income in the other households are set out
592 in Table 14. In these households there were a total of
463 54 government employees, both men and women, including 17 teachers and 5 clerks. Besides government employees, there were persons employed as laborers in various enterprises and others employed by the churches (generally as teachers in the church-run schools). In addition there were people in the village who had business enterprises of their own. Included in this were six stores in the village, two women who each kept a large flock of chickens and sold the eggs to the big stores in Nuku'alofa, there were three privately-owned sheds hired out for movies and dances or used as copra-weighing stations, two men owned trucks for hire, one man operated a dance band, a woman had a dress-making shop in Nuku'alofa, and so on. Other sources of income of people in Motulahi included the cultivation of watermelons (mainly for export to New Zealand) and the manufacture of handicrafts. Finally, the category "other activities" in Table 14 includes three fishermen, the local Town Officer (who receives a govern-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 131]

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TABLE 14

Sources of Household Income Other Than (Or in Addition to) the Sale of Coconuts and Copra

Source of income	In relation to further sources of income			
	This is the only other source (72 households)	There is one further source (27 households)	More than one further source (4 households)	Total number of households with this source (households = 103)
Government employment	26	10	3	39
Church employment	10	8	1	19
Private employment	12	8	1	21
Watermelons	8	7	2	17
Business enterprises	2	10	2	14
Handicrafts	4	2	2	8
Remittances from kin	6	4	2	12
Income from land*	-	3	-	3
Other activities	4	2	1	7
TOTAL	72	54	14	139

Source: fieldwork survey and field notes.

* This refers to rent or a share of the crop. It does not include those cases where the loan of land is reciprocated by occasional 'gift' baskets of food.

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

592 ment stipend), a household composed of two Mormons
463 serving their period as "missionaries" away from their home village (supported by members of the local congregation), a lawyer, and a builder.

463 In many cases, the income-producing activities described above were not full-time occupations; a person might be engaged in more than one occupation or be engaged in different occupations at different times of the year. These elements make it difficult to classify the village
463 population in terms of occupation. This difficulty is
434 compounded by the fact that non-agricultural activities
592 were seldom the major source of household income. In most of the households in Motulahi, subsistence production and copra production were the mainstay of the household, while other income-producing activities served mainly to provide
592 a more or less regular flow of cash. On the other hand,
511 households without some source of supplementary cash
434 income had a noticeably lower standard of living. Among
[342] them, for example, there was a greater proportion of the old-style coconut-thatch houses and shabby old wooden houses (probably because households without supplementary sources of income found it difficult to save the relatively large amount of cash needed to build a new wooden or brick house).

592 The major part of the everyday cash requirements and
423

47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

> Although . . . the language of kinship plays a dominating role in the expression of social relationships, social behaviour is not constrained by the prior existence of kinship corporations. It is not so much that the Sinhalese order their economic lives in accord with kinship relations as that their kinship relations are an expression of the way in which they order their economic lives (1960:123).

The resources available to the Tongan household must be sufficient to provide for three types of expenditures: expenditures for everyday material needs, periodic cash outlays, and contributions of goods and labor on ceremonial occasions.

The everyday material needs of a household consist mainly of foodstuffs and fuel, along with petty cash for such items as bus fares, matches, and soap. Foodstuffs and fuel are derived mainly from locally cultivated subsistence products. (There must, of course, be labor available to prepare and make use of these products, hence the need for human capital). Everyday foodstuffs that are purchased include bread, flour, sugar, salt, tea, cocoa, and dried milk. The frequency and amounts of such purchases varies mainly according to how much cash is available.

A household must also have the cash for periodic outlays to pay members' expenses, such as income taxes, the annual poll tax on every male over the age of 15, church contributions, and schooling expenses for the children, as well as to buy store-bought goods such as clothing and fabric, household utensils, and other implements. Such purchases and expenditures generally require relatively large cash outlays, which are seldom provided for through systematic savings. Instead, members of the household make a special effort to assemble the money shortly before it is needed. Men collect coconuts and make copra or else sell the coconuts directly to the Tonga Copra Board, while women prepare handicrafts for sale to tourists. There is noticeably more copra-making activity and also a well-stocked handicrafts bazaar in the weeks preceding a new school term, when money is needed for books, uniforms and school fees. Usually, people try to make more money than is needed for the major outlay at hand, with whatever is left being doled out to provide cash for everyday needs until another major effort is made.

Finally, a household must have the means for its members to make adequate contributions of goods and labor on a wide range of ceremonial occasions that occur at irregular intervals throughout the year: feasts, funerals, weddings, and so forth. There is a class of goods called *koloa* ("treasure") that come into play only on ceremonial occasions; these consist mainly of finely woven mats of various kinds (*kie*, *fihu*, and *ngafingafi*) and printed tapa-cloth (*ngatu*). *Koloa*, which is amassed through manufacture by women of the household or through

47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

previous ceremonial prestation to members of the household, is used to express status relations between giver and receiver.[9] If one does not have *koloa,* one cannot participate in ceremonial exchanges, and not to do so is to be outside the system of rights, expectations, and obligations that are the foundation of *anga faka-Tonga,* "the Tongan way."

Similarly, to be a member of the community, a household must give feasts and contribute to others' feasts. Contributions consist mainly of appropriate livestock or foods: pigs, chickens, lobsters, tinned beef, yams, watermelon—in sum, feast food. To some extent, moreover, such services as assistance in preparing and serving the feast can be substituted for contributions of food. (Especially close friends and relatives will usually provide both.[10]) According to my estimate, there were only five households in the village of Motulahi that could afford to sponsor a feast without assistance. Yet, almost every household in the village manages to host at least one feast every 12 to 15 months. They can afford to do so because they are assisted by contributions from other households whom they have assisted in the past. This is not to say that the household is considered as the unit that makes the contributions, for contributions are viewed as coming from individuals. The household itself is the unit in feasting activities only if a member of the household is hosting the feast. Nevertheless, when a person makes contributions to a feast at another household, he obtains the goods from the common pool of resources in his own household. The greater a household's participation as a contributor through the contributions of its members, the more assistance the household will receive when it comes time to act as host.

SOURCES OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME

While a household is not expected to be self-sufficient when it comes to hosting a feast, it must be able, in one way or another, to provide for the other material needs of its members. To do so, however, the household must have the means of access either to the products of an agricultural allotment or to the income from some job, and preferably both. Without one or the other, no household is viable (although it is true that there is less need for cash away from the main island of Tongatapu, and certainly less likelihood of access to a job).

In 1970, 42 Motulahi households had no source of cash income other than the production and preparation for sale of coconuts and/or copra (see Table 6). In other words, almost 30% of the households in the

9 For a description of ceremonial exchanges in Tonga, see Aoyagi (1966:167-72), Beaglehole and Beaglehole (1941:91-98), and Collocott (1923:221-225).

10 For a discussion of the membership and activities associated with Tongan kin groups at the local level, see Aoyagi (1966:150-160) and Decktor Korn (1974:9-11).

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47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

TABLE 6

Sources of Household Income Other Than (or in addition to) the Sale of Coconuts and Copra

Source of Income	In Relation to Other Sources of Income for the Household			
	The Only Source (household = 72)	One Other Source (household = 27)	More than One Other Source (household = 4)	Total Number of Households with This Source (household = 103)
Government employment	26	10	3	39
Church employment	10	8	1	19
Private employment	12	8	1	21
Watermelons	8	7	2	17
Business enterprises	2	10	2	14
Handicrafts	4	2	2	8
Remittances from kin	6	4	2	12
Income from land*	—	3	—	3
Other activities†	4	2	1	7
Total	72	54	14	140

*"Income from land" refers to land owned by a member of this household and worked by people in other households in exchange for rent or a share of the crop (it does not include loans of land reciprocated by occasional "gift" baskets of food).

† Included in this category are three fishermen, the local Town Officer (who receives a government stipend), a household of proselytizing "missionaries" (supported by church members), a lawyer, and a builder.

47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

village had no one engaged in any income-producing activity besides the basic Tongan pattern of peasant production. In the remaining households, there were a total of 54 government employees, both men and women, almost all of whom worked in the main town. In addition, there were persons employed outside government (mainly as laborers in various enterprises), or by one of the churches (usually as teachers in a church-run school). Besides people with jobs, there were people in the village who had business enterprises of their own. Included in this were six stores in the village, two women kept large flocks of chickens and sold the eggs to the big stores in the main town, there were three privately owned sheds that were hired for movies and dances or used as copra-weighing stations, two men owned trucks for hire, one man operated a band, a woman had a dress-making shop in town, and so on. Other income-producing activities of people in the village included the cultivation of watermelons (mainly for export to New Zealand) and the manufacture of handicrafts.

In many cases, the income-producing activities described here were not full-time occupations, nor were they the major source of income for the household. In most of the households in the village, subsistence production and copra production are the mainstay of the household, while other income-producing activities serve mainly to provide a more or less steady flow of cash. On the other hand, households with no source of supplementary income enjoy a noticeably lower standard of living. Among these, for example, there is a greater proportion of the old-style, coconut-thatch houses or old and shabby wooden houses—people without supplemental sources of cash income find it more difficult to obtain the large amount of cash needed to build a new wooden or brick house.

The major part of the everyday cash requirements and other material needs of a household are provided for if the household has access to an agricultural allotment (*'api 'uta*). Although this is not the place to describe the Tongan system of land tenure in any detail,[11] the following notes will suffice to indicate the major elements involved in a household's having access to an allotment. In theory, every male over the age of 15 is entitled to an agricultural allotment of 8¼ acres registered in his name. In practice, however, about 60% of all who are eligible do *not* have land in their names (largely because of shortages stemming from the pressure of increasing population). Some men, on the other hand, have effective control over more than one allotment,

11 For articles dealing with the system of land tenure, see Maude (1972) and Nayacakalou (1959). In addition, refer to Rogers (1969) for a discussion of the *Report on the Results of the 1966 Census* (Fiefia 1968) that focuses on the findings relating to population increase and its effects on land holding.

47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

available for purchase in the main town. In the first place, it would be far too expensive for most people to do so. And besides that, it is regarded as demeaning for a Tongan to have to buy vegetable produce, for it signifies that no one holds them in sufficient regard to supply them with food or to provide them with access to the means of obtaining it for themselves. If the members of a household do not have some means of access to the use of an agricultural allotment, or if for other reasons they are not able to farm (because of, for example, age, infirmity, or being too occupied with other activities, such as a job), they must either be supplied by relatives or have some other arrangement (short of buying their food in town). There were only two households in Motulahi with varying and uncertain arrangements for providing for the everyday material needs of household members, and, it should be noted, the adult members of these households were held in contempt by many of the villagers.

DETERMINANTS OF HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

When a family group does not have access to an allotment or to the subsistence foods that are the products of an allotment, it will inevitably join a family unit that does have such access, forming a multiple-family household. In 1970, there were 49 multiple-family households in Motulahi, or one-third of the households in the village. Most of the family units that comprised these households would not be economically viable as independent households. In some cases, a member of one of the family units provided the household with a steady cash income from a job. That person might not have access in his/her own right to an agricultural allotment, but someone in another family unit in the household did have such access. Together, they provided the economic basis for a viable household. In other cases, one family unit in the household may have control over an allotment, while the other family unit supplied the labor to work it. This was especially true in some of the three-generation households, where the land was registered in the name of someone in the senior generation, and the next generation provided the labor to work it. It may also be the basis of other types of household—for example, where a widow has control over her late husband's allotment but has no adult male in her family group who

sharing the use of the *'api* of others or by using the *'api* of those who are away from the village. . . . Of the 19 households that share the use of the *'api* of others in the village under study, 10 share with related households and 9 share with unrelated ones. Of the 9 that share with unrelated households, 5 have no relatives in the village (1959:109).

Maude (1972:119-120) also discusses practices relating to the sharing of land. For a systematic account of which persons are likely to provide this form of assistance, see Decktor Korn (1974:10)

53: Marcus E-4,5 (1972) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Ha'apai
'Uiha

as fishing or storekeeping, they must migrate, either alone or with their families.

Reasons for leaving one's native village are varied: Females leave when they marry out, enter some form of higher education such as teacher's training, or look after children who are in school either in Nuku'alofa or in one of the two other major towns of Tonga, Pangai in Ha'apai and Neiafu in Vava'u. Males leave to look for vacant or undistributed land in some other part of Tonga; to look for potential spouses; for education; for employment outside agriculture as government clerks, police, teachers, and *faifekaus* ('ministers'), or in fishing and shipping; to work abroad as laborers (there is a large Tongan community in New Zealand); or just for *'eva pē*, i.e., living among kinsmen away from home without any specific reason. Every one of the above reasons for leaving often involves several years, if not permanent, periods of absence from native villages. The increased need for cash, the selling of copra being the only way of acquiring money locally, and the desire for the conveniences of modern goods and services are the 'pulls' that complement the 'push' of land pressure which together serve as the stimuli resulting in dispersed family estates, both within Tonga and abroad, as a major feature of modern Tongan social structure.

The kin determinants of the composition of family estates derive from the channels of ranked status positions in the kinship system, defined briefly in the previous section. Anthropologists have been accustomed to specify *mutual* rights and obligations for reciprocal role relationships in kinship systems. However, in the case of Tongan kinship, elaborately defined rankings of reciprocal roles necessitate the lopsided or asymmetrical analysis of relationships in which either rights or obligations are emphasized, but not both. Within the sibling group, older brothers have primarily rights over younger brothers, and sisters have primarily rights over brothers. For extra-familial kin, a set of siblings has rights over mother's kinsmen(especially the mother's brothers and their children) and obligations to father's kinsmen (especially the father's sisters and their children).

In ranked kinship relations, one party has rights and the other has obligations which are culturally specified. The situation in the class system is parallel: nobles have rights vis-a-vis commoners, who in turn have obligations vis-a-vis nobles. This is not to say that individuals holding higher rank or status have no obligations to those with lower status. For example, Tongans emphasize the importance of *'ofa*, 'love'

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

the second Offo'lange,[1] between which is a rock nam'd Bouhee,[2] and at eleven had got up to Loo'hoggo. We then tack'd and stood to the Sᵒward but in the afternoon to the eastward, and at seven in the evening were within a league of the shore of Ha'ano, but stood off again as we had no soundings with less than 56 fathom. Before dark some more land was supposd to be seen to the NEᵗward, which was probably an Island mention'd to us by the natives who call it Va'vaoo[3] and say it is much larger than Ha'paee.

A good many Canoes came from the different isles who brought a few hogs, fowls and fruit, and Fee'nou follow'd us again to day with a present of two more hogs, some Cocoa nuts &c but in the afternoon went forward to Hapaee.

SATURDAY 17ᵗʰ. The wind ESE. Moderate breezes with fine weather though sometimes a little cloudy. A smooth sea. Latᵈ at noon 19.46.08 p. ob. In the night we stood off and on and in the morning were close in with Foa, which we saw was join'd to Ha'ano by a reef running even with the surface of the sea from one to the other. In the mean time the Master was sent in the cutter to sound between several small shoals that lye a little way off shore, and before eight she made the signal for having found anchorage, upon which we stood on and soon after came to abreast of the reef which joins Lai'fooga to Fôá (in the same manner as the last place is joind to Ha'ano) though rather over towards the N end of Lai'fooga in twenty four fathom about a mile from the shore. The bottom was a fine sand and when moor'd one extreme of Hapaee bore the other the s end of Fôá the north end of Lai'fooga and the island Loo'hoggo off Ha'ano.[4] Immediately after anchoring many Canoes came off and in a short time there was above a hundred about the two ships with those that were constantly going to and coming from the shore. They brought off fruits and several hogs which they barterd in the same manner as the people at Annamooka, and indeed we found that many of them had been at that place while we lay there.

The Captain went on shore at the N part of Lai'fooga a little to the right of where the ship lay and found the landing place very convenient except at low water, when the Boats cannot get close in for a flat that runs some way off and is dry at that time. We found that the people here paid rather still more respect to Feenou than at Annamooka, and no person seem'd to have equal authority to him as they seem'd to do what ever he directed with the greatest readiness.

[1] Ofolanga, the northernmost of the Ha'apai group.
[2] Puhi: it is inside the Ofolanga reef. [3] Vava'u.
[4] Cook is more precise about the position, p. 105 above.

423 to the use of land. For every two householders with 'api tukuhau there was a further householder who was sharing land with a relation. The situation with regards to 'api kolo demonstrated the social significance of land still further—a third of the householders were sharing the 'api of relations.

369 [434] [433] Just as no village family could rely entirely on subsistence agriculture, few families in the town could rely entirely on wages. The town's economy, like the traditional peasant economy outlined by Franklin,[18] is labour and not capital intensive, kin relations serve a socio-economic role and there is a close attachment to the land. It 592 [434] would be erroneous to talk of per capita income in Tonga; the important consideration is family income. Although not entirely controlled by the head of the household as chef d'entreprise, the broad direction of spendings earned by members of a family is the concern of all the family, especially so in times of crisis or investment in [594] [595] education. And the families, though nuclear by residence, are extended in terms of mutual recognition of services and obligations.[19]

183 602 369 It would not be fakatonga, the right behaviour in terms of respect within Tongan society, to deny a relation access to land, residence, employment or a share in family success. If these are characteristics of a peasantry, one can only say that they are common 369 to all of Tonga, rural and urban. Town dwellers are inescapably 434 bound up with the land. They own it as much as villagers, they rely 423 on it to supplement wages kept low on the assumption of an additional income from agriculture, they value it as a means of fulfilling family obligations and as a measure of their social importance and they depend on it for food. There would be few established household heads, even the most wealthy and the most "urbanised", who do not have a son or relation on their land or on land acquired through their 592 influence. It is the function of a successful household head to find employment for as many of his family as possible. The labour commitment is total and the basic unit of economic organisation is the family, controlled and directed at least to some extent by the 592 household head.[20] A typical family would endeavour to have some 434 member in paid employment, some on the land and some in the "bazaar" sector of the town's economy—a small grocery shop, in the making of [182] handicrafts and other side-line businesses. This diversity in family employment provides material security in an economy which offers insufficient full wage employment; it also indicates the economic obligations borne by the chef d'entreprise towards his kin.

556 437 [369] [465] It should be clear that everyone in Tonga is to some extent involved in a money economy, the town dweller somewhat more than the villager but this has not yet led to any noticeable individualisation. There is little evidence of individuals trying to opt out of reciprocal

Table VI

Tongatapu

Diet, Possessions and Club Attendance

	House Types				
	Large Wooden %	Small Wooden %	Indigenous %	Composite %	Average
Diet					
Three meals daily	75	52	28	43	44.5
Buy Imported food	56	31	31	40	35.4
Possessions					
Two or more beds	100	55	12	27	42.4
Motorised vehicle	44	17	0	7	14.2
Horce or Cart	38	38	34	67	43.5
Club Attendance					
Fale Hiva	69	52	53	60	56.6
Fale Kava	31	66	44	50	49.5
Fale Koko'anga	19	28	41	57	38.4
Total Households	16	29	32	30	107

Source: Household Questionnaire

Notes: The answers on diet refer to activities occurring at least three times weekly; those on club attendance involved at least one person in the household. Both types of wooden house correspond with "exotic"; the information on the larger houses is included for later discussion.

sometimes beyond Tonga. The fakafefine, however, are not typical. The unit of organisation (for most Tongans involved in the bazaar sector) is the family or people of the immediate neighbourhood. Rarely does involvement in the bazaar provide the sole or main source of income for the families concerned. It provides work and income for some members of the family while others are involved in agriculture and paid employment. Participation in these three areas of economic activity involve the total labour force of the family and ensure its greatest chance of economic well-being. Nevertheless, the bazaar sector in Nuku'alofa seems likely to expand as more wealth enters the kingdom and the indigenous market expands.[24]

nuku'alofa : readapted or transformed ?

McGee has suggested that "Some folk societies ... are

CHAPTER V

VILLAGE ECONOMICS AND MODES OF EXCHANGE

433 Village economy in present-day Tonga is a composite of traditional
181 forms of production, consumption, and exchange and Western modes of eco-
178 nomic integration. The change from the traditional to the modern has proceeded slowly in an atmospere of conservatism and pride in maintaining the traditional life style. Traditional attitudes and values tend to force disbursement of acquired cash into areas which bring about so-
128 cial prestige rather than capital formation. In this chapter I would like to describe village economy as it exists under this situation of change. I also will describe and discuss the various types of exchange utilized.

Cash Income

241 The village economy is subsistence oriented and relies upon labor-
[434] intensive, swidden agriculture as the production base. All household heads rely to some extent on cultivation for meeting basic dietary requirements and usually combine with gardening some other subsistence pursuit to provide variation in their diet and to provide cash for other
463 needs. Table 11 gives the dominant occupation for forty-two household heads in Puke.

434 Cash income is derived from several sources including the sale of copra, fresh coconuts, bananas and other produce, fish, and handicrafts.

A [See p. 74--Analyst]

434 Wage labor and gifts of money from kinsmen working overseas also contri-
[457] bute substantially to money income.

434 An examination of income data from twenty Puke households indicates
463 that the economic strategy followed by Tongan peasants is security
464 through diversity (Tables 12 and 13). A Occupational specialization is
usually impractical as most income sources available are affected by
[258] critically-fluctuating market conditions. As an example, the buying of
mature coconuts for processing into desiccated coconut sometimes ceases
completely so that a grower relying upon this market suffers periods of
no income. Over time reliances on various income sources also vary con-
siderably so that a man may do wage labor for a short time until he is
fired or the job terminates, and then may fish or make copra if those
activities are profitable.

592 In most households women and children, particularly girls, contri-
434 bute substantially to household income by producing basketry, bark cloth,
439 shell jewelry, and other handicrafts. These items are sold directly to
tourists in Nuku'alofa or less frequently to exporters. Women also oc-
592 casionally assist their husbands in gardening and fishing.
462

Cash Expenditure: The Spheres of Obligation

434 Tongans generally view cash income as a necessity for meeting three
511 types of obligations: obligation to support one's church (kavenga faka-
siasi), obligation to educate one's children (kavenga faka'ako), and ob-
ligation to support the members of one's household (kavenga faka'api).
Ideally, only after these obligations have been met can an individual

A [See pp. 76-77--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 78]

TABLE 12

Household Income*

434

Monthly Income	Number of Households
$T 0 - 10	12
11 - 20	4
21 - 30	2
31 - 40	1
over 40	1
Total	20

* Figures based on household head's estimate of monthly income during 1971.

TABLE 13

434

Mean Income of Households According to Number of Sources*

Number of Sources	Number of Household Heads	Income
1	9	$17.44
2	6	13.17
3	2	14.00
4	1	15.00
5	2	7.50

* Figures based on household head's estimate of monthly income during 1971.

434 511 spend money on entertainment, luxury items, or even investment. This concept of obligations provides some insight into how Tongans emphasize certain aspects of their life. The obligations themselves are ranked with education being first in importance, church support following closely, and household obligation being a definite least in importance. These spheres of obligation are expected to approximate an individual's income so that if he increases his wealth he increases his obligations accordingly. Relatively, wealthy persons who do not accept this paradigm and spend "too much" on Western luxury items, housing, cars and entertainment become the subject of social censure through gossip (lau).

[177] [626]

511 From sample A, I obtained information on cash expenditure for twenty households; each household contributed information for five days. Table 14 presents items purchased for each household by amounts spent. A The most money in descending order was spent in the categories of fresh meat, bread and crackers, and tobacco products. The bulk of the fresh meat purchase is mutton breast flaps which are actually shipped frozen from New Zealand. The price per pound is 16 cents for which one receives about 4 ounces of meat, 5 ounces of gristle, and 8 ounces of bone. Villagers use it primarily as an ingredient for a thick curry soup. The high expenditure on bread for the period is not indicative of normal expenditure for this product but the total was inflated by a single $5.00 expenditure occasioned by a funeral. The bread was required to feed those in attendance.

[439]

It can be noted from the table that few expenditures are made for durable or semi-durable goods. The category of "other" contains a few

A. [See p. 79--Analyst]

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 80

511 durable items which are mostly cooking utensils and tools.

794 511 (129) From church records I was able to obtain the exact amount contributed at the time of the annual church collection (misinale) by households. This information is presented in Table 15 but represents only a fraction of the total given during the year.[A] Although the annual collection represents the single largest donation for each year, smaller collections are taken at other times. During the annual collection church members also contribute goods, mostly storable vegetables, but I was not able to obtain information on these contributions.

794 592 626 511 Church contributions are made publicly in the Sunday services. The name of each household head is called, and a representative of that household steps to the front of the church and lays the contribution on a table which is in view of all present. This procedure results in almost everyone having knowledge about how much everyone else contributes. (554) A great deal of prestige is attached both to the act of giving and to giving large amounts.

434 511 Most physical needs of the Tongan peasant are met through his own efforts at cultivation, fishing, and collecting. Cash is only a small part of family income and is used to purchase goods and services which [891] [794] cannot be secured through traditional means. For instance, the expenses of education and church support can only be paid for with cash.[1] [B]

The Village Store

443 From the information I could obtain the first store in Puke was built in about 1908 by one of the villagers; then in 1912 a European

[A] [See p. 81--Analyst] [B] [For footnote, see p. 123--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 82]

73: Morton E-5 (1970-1971) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9
Puke

NOTES (Continued)

Chapter V

871 511 434 [1]Most schools in Tonga are parochial schools; however, school fees are paid for each child in all schools. Parents must also pay for school uniforms and some school supplies. The total amount varies considerably depending on the school, but between $T15.00 and $T25.00 a year per child is usually required.

Chapter VI

597 858 121 [1]While children are important resources and there is an economic dimension present in adoption transactions, that was not the focus of my analysis of adoption. Rather, I attempted to focus on the social and psychological aspects of adoption which are the dimensions emphasized by Tongans.

75: Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1940 OU9 Tonga OU9
Vava'u
Pangai

carry the saucepan and its contents to his own house. Sione lifts the saucepan and sets off, but suddenly he feels very sad because he sees that the saucepan is filled with filth, feces, and disease. He is disgusted with Pili for making him carry all this filth to his own house.

Sione had no interpretation of this dream to offer, nor am I able to give any specific meaning to the actual incidents reported. The equating of money with feces is, of course, of particular interest. Money is a valued object in Pangai today—hard to get except by the back-breaking labor of copra making, and much green copra is needed to earn a single shilling. At the same time, although a man may gain enough food for himself and his family by hard work in his bush plantation, nevertheless a minimum amount of money (which seems large to a Tongan villager) is absolutely necessary for piece goods for clothing, for kerosene, fishhooks, certain desirable European foods, and tobacco. Money for the Tongan is not yet a symbol of power, but it is still a fundamental necessity which is hard to acquire and easy to spend. With this attitude toward money, it is perhaps understandable that there should occur in this Tongan dream an identification similar to identifications that occur in our own society.[1]

Of the dreams that we collected, however, the large majority seem to be motivated by emotional conflicts over religious matters, usually anxieties over schismatic differences between the various Christian churches in Tonga. In the village of Pangai there are today three religious groups professing Wesleyan Christianity (Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga, Free Church of Tonga, Church of Tonga) and a Roman Catholic group as well. Members of the Latter Day Saints Church are found in a near-by township, and one at least of the men of Pangai professed to be a Seventh-Day Adventist—all these in a village of about 270 people. Moreover, religion for the villagers is not something merely for Sunday observance; it is a real life-and-death matter, involving prayer services on most week days, and, because church law is in many aspects of conduct identical with secular law, religious influences permeate through to every nook and corner of contemporary Tongan culture. More than any other set of values, religious values are today providing the cement that gives a significant integration to Tongan society—thus doubtless playing a role that was formerly filled by aboriginal Tongan religion. Chang in religious ideology, has occurred, but it is largely a mere variation (god substitutions, tapu substitution, etc.) on a fundamental pattern that today, as formerly, provides a cohesive force in Tongan life. By this I mean to stress the fact that the Pangai villager takes his religion seriously. It vitally affects both his living and his dying in such a fashion that it is not surprising for psychic stress to be formulated in religious terms and symbols.

The following dream, for example, suggests a phrasing of adolescent love interest in religious terms:

Case 8.—A dream of Ana, unmarried girl of 16 years. She dreamed she was walking down the village road and came to a place where the road branched. One road was narrow and dark. The other road was smooth, bright, and well

[1] See Ernest Beaglehole, *Property* (New York, 1932), pp. 266–272. Seligman in his paper on "Temperament, Conflict, and Psychosis in a Stone Age Population" (*Brit. Jour. Med. Psych.*, Vol. 9, 1929, p. 196) gives the case of a native of Massim, New Guinea, who had been serving as a store boy and suffering from delusions of grandeur in which he equated money with feces. Also, it may be noted that apart from brief maniacal attacks, Seligman (*op. cit.*, p. 195) is of the opinion that psychoses do not occur among New Guinea natives except as the result of stresses set up by white influence—a point of observation which, if true, would tend to support the theoretical position outlined in the present paper.

76: Yuncker N-4,5 (1953) 1959 OU9 Tonga OU9

Presumably, the unintentional introduction of certain weedy species occurred at the same time. A good many cultivated species, together with many weeds, owe their presence to the visits of European ships, starting early in the seventeenth century and continuing with increasing frequency to the present time. Some of these alien species find optimum conditions for growth and multiplication, and have undoubtedly played a part in limiting or even exterminating some endemics or indigenous species through aggressiveness. A high percentage of the usual strand and weed species includes those frequently found on other Pacific islands and elsewhere in tropical countries.

There is little fresh water available other than that impounded in tanks from rainfall. Aside from occasional small localized areas, the low coral islands present a monotonous repetition of plantation weeds and fallow-resting plantations of second-growth "bush." The dominant crop is coconuts, and large areas have been cleared for the extensive plantations found on most of the islands. At present, the high market value of copra makes it the most important source of income for the islanders. The second most important export crop is bananas, of which 50,000 or more cases are shipped annually to New Zealand. The more rugged topography of 'Eua, and to a somewhat lesser extent of Vava'u, prevents the cultivation of some parts of the islands. As a consequence, there are more opportunities on these islands for the survival of native species. Some of the islands, especially 'Eua and Kao, still have significant timbered areas with some of the tree species reaching a diameter of more than a meter and offering a source of timber. Lumbering operations are being developed by the government on 'Eua which, together with the fact that more and more of the forested land is being cleared for new plantations, threaten to reduce or eliminate many of the native species. Too, this has caused a soil erosion problem on some of the slopes. Lumbering operations on the volcanic islands of Late, Tofua, Kao, and Tafahi, because of the present lack of harbor facilities, are all but impossible. It seems improbable, therefore, that much timber will be cut on those islands in the immediate future, and it is on those islands that many of the native species will have the best chance of survival. However, with any marked increase in population, it will eventually become necessary to colonize and develop such islands.

The climate of Tonga is pleasant during most of the year. The annual temperature ranges from a low of around 75° F. in July and August to a high of 85° to 90° F. from January to March. Slightly higher or lower temperatures are not infrequent. The humidity is comparatively high, ranging from about 88° in the warmer months to a low of around 72° in the winter period. The average mean rainfall is about 80 to 90 inches, with the wettest season during the first six months of the year.

The collections upon which this report is based were made on the islands of Tongatapu, 'Eua, Nomuka, Lifuka, Kao, Vava'u and Niuafo'ou between February and June 1953. Projected visits to 'Ata, Tofua, and Late were aban-

80: Maude K-5 (1961) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9

In areas of more moderate population density (about 300-400 persons per square mile) the pattern of land distribution on estates which have been fully subdivided is shown in the figures for Ha'akame, Nukunuku and Ha'ateiho. Here most households have either eight acres or no land at all, although in Ha'akame several taxpayers hold twelve-acre allotments and a block of thirty-three acres is held as a lease by the only man of rank in the village. Where the population density falls to about 200 persons per square mile or less the pattern on subdivided estates is represented by the figures for Niutoua in eastern Tongatapu (see Table 1 and Figure 1), where only three per cent of the households in 1962 were without land. Yet even there about eighteen per cent of the taxpayers had no land, because one-third of the registered allotments on the estate were held by people who lived in other settlements, mostly either in Nuku'alofa or in other villages in eastern Tongatapu. Where subdivision and allocation of allotments is not complete the proportion of taxpayers and households without land is very much higher, as is shown in the figures for Vaini in central Tongatapu, where in 1962 about one-half of the estate was still in customary holdings. The recent allocation of allotments has significantly altered the pattern of land distribution on this estate, but has had little or no effect on the other villages discussed above.

The significance of this unequal distribution of land between individuals and households needs to be carefully assessed, for the borrowing of land from relatives, friends or estate-holders is common. It is fairly easy to obtain the use of land for growing short-term and largely subsistence food crops, even in densely settled areas, although many men claim that it has become more difficult in recent years. Where land is borrowed from a relative often no direct return is made, but when borrowing from others it is customary to give part of the crop, such as a basket of yams, to the landholder.

Obtaining the use of land for cash cropping is more difficult, and although it would be hard to find a family short of food simply because it could not borrow enough land for gardening, households without land tend to have significantly lower cash incomes than households with land. Borrowing for cash cropping particularly has become more difficult over the last two years, for with the improved market for bananas landholders have expanded their own plantings and are less willing to lend their land to others, especially for more than one or two years. In Tongatapu today it is not unusual to find people having to pay for the use of land for cash cropping, although renting without

[See Category 423, pp. 109, 117--Analyst.]

80: Maude K-5 (1961) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9

Cabinet approval is illegal, and Cabinet approval is not given for land renting between Tongans. In fact, some of the more enterprising and large-scale banana growers and market gardeners, who can afford to pay rent and to contribute food crops and pigs to the estate-holder or landholder, have little difficulty in obtaining the use of land, though their tenure is insecure and unprotected by law. Land cannot be borrowed for planting coconuts, a long-term cash crop, and palms on an allotment are the property of the landholder, regardless of who planted them. A common practice for those without land, therefore, is to obtain permission to collect one or two cart loads of coconuts for copra making from the allotment of a relative or close friend, and for this no return is given. Another arrangement, especially between non-relatives and where the landholder lives elsewhere, is for the cash received for the copra to be shared half and half. Despite these arrangements a survey undertaken in four villages in Tongatapu showed that in 1961 the *per capita* cash crop income of households with no land ($T18.40) was only half that of households with eight acres (Maude 1965:155-6). Yet only a few of the landless men interviewed throughout Tonga seemed to experience hardship from land shortage; most considered their income sufficient for essential needs and some with energy and enterprise had higher cash incomes than many men with their own allotments. A few men in Ha'apai and Nuku'alofa with large families to support, however, did appear to feel under pressure.

In theory the Tongan system should have encouraged the movement of people from areas of land shortage to the more sparsely populated districts, for although an estate-holder may refuse a person from another locality permission to reside upon his estate, he cannot prevent such a person holding an allotment there, unless the Land Court rules against the grant. Some migration to obtain land has taken place over the last few decades, mainly from Ha'apai to central and eastern Tongatapu, but for reasons already mentioned it has not been easy to obtain land in the areas where allotments should have been available. Furthermore, acquiring land on an hereditary estate has usually been more difficult for a stranger to a village than for a local man, for the responsibility of an estate-holder towards his own people does not necessarily extend to others, and many people feel that the lands of an estate should be reserved for the people who traditionally belong there. Consequently in all the villages for which figures are available the proportion of men without

81: Bott E,P-4,5 (no date) 19 2 OU9 Tonga OU9

treat kava as if it were strong stuff. And so it is, but the strength comes from society, not from the vegetable kingdom.[3]

Before I describe the ceremony, here are a few background facts about the Kingdom. Tonga is a Polynesian society consisting of about 150 small islands with a population of about 70,000 people. It has a Treaty of Friendship with Great Britain, but has always been independent, never a colony, a fact of which Tongans are very proud. The people have been Christian for 130 years and virtually everyone can read and write. Tongans practise subsistence farming on small holdings, with coconuts and bananas as the main cash crops. There are no extremes of wealth or poverty. For the past 100 years government has assumed the form of a constitutional monarchy. Anyone who saw Queen Sālote of Tonga at the coronation of Queen Elizabeth in 1953 will not be likely to forget her. She is as memorable in Tonga as she is in Britain. She died in December 1965 and was succeeded by her eldest son, the present King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CEREMONY

The basic form of the kava ceremony is always the same, though it may vary from a small informal gathering of four or five people to a huge assemblage of several hundred people. It can be dressed up or down as the occasion requires. It takes place on many different sorts of occasion: when men visit each other just to talk; when welcoming home relatives who have been away; in courtship; at weddings; at certain points in a funeral; at the appointment of a king and later on at his coronation; and similarly at the appointment of a chief and on the occasion when he first presents himself and his villagers to his King.

Figures 1 and *2* show the seating at an informal and at a formal ceremony. The participants sit cross-legged, with the chief whose title is genealogically the most senior at the head of the circle. He has an official called a matāpule on either side of

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 210]

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9

'Uiha is the burial-place of great chiefs, including Tubouniua, Tubouto'a, Tevita 'Uga and Vuna. The finest mound ('eji) in Tonga, named Maka Hokovalu, is situated on the north-west of this island. The village of 'Uiha also boasts six cannon taken from a kidnapping ship which met its merited doom while making a raid on the island about the middle of the 19th century.

Tugua was the residence of the highest personage in ancient Tongan society, the Tamaha.

Nomuka, in the south of the group, was visited by more voyagers than any other island in Tonga. The pond of fresh water from which Tasman, Cook, Bligh and others took supplies is readily pointed out.

Navigation lights have been placed at Muifuiva, in the south, and at Muitoa, Ha'ano, in the north of Ha'abai. Some islands cannot be approached in bad weather. Many of the smallest ones are uninhabited, though there are various traces of former habitation or of use for plantations or burial-places at Ofolaga, Kelefesia and the 'Otu Tolu.

VAVA'U OR HA'AFULUHAO. Three-fifths of this beautiful northern group is in one island, 'Uta Vava'u, but the remaining islands are only separated from the mainland by narrow channels. All these islands are comparatively high and undulating, thickly-wooded and very fertile. The highest point is 670 feet. From the hill called Talau, behind the chief town, Neiafu, a magnificent panorama can be obtained, embracing all the islands in the group. Along the northern coast of the main island there are very fine views from the high cliffs at the seat ('eji) of Salote near Hologa and at Ha'alaufuli.

The harbour of the main island is one of the most picturesque in the Pacific, though shallows and sandbanks make navigation difficult in some places. The Swallows' Cave, often visited by tourists, is on the north of Kaba. The secret cave, entered only by diving, which Mariner's story and Byron's poem have made famous, is situated on the north of the island of Nuababu ; here the young chief left his bride until they could embark for Fiji and be safe from the wrath of their relatives.

Neiafu, the port and residence of the governor, is beautifully situated, and good roads radiate from this centre. Until recently at least the average prosperity of the natives in Vava'u was rather higher than in other parts of the group, and they have expended their resources on European houses and European food to a greater extent than elsewhere. Vava'u is not as subject to hurricanes as the more northerly islands of Niua Fo'ou and Niua Tobutabu, but nevertheless it has suffered rather frequently, the last occasion being 13th March, 1932.

It is remarkable that Vava'u was the last part of Tonga to be discovered, the honour falling to the Spaniard, Maurelle, in 1781.

Various places recall the incidents mentioned in Mariner's history, and especially Feletoa, where the great fight of Finau Ulukalala II took place and where Finau himself was buried in 1809. Parts of the great trench, and also a cave and underground river, may be seen at Feletoa.

An ancient but incredible tradition states that a long wall of coral stones at Makave, known as the Kilikilitefua, was made by casting a stone for every first-born son in the district.

571 602 476 where European institutions such as life insurance, workman's compensation, social security, and freehold land are not available.

571 602 [434] [182] Although the primary function of the agricultural system is to provide for the Tongan family's everyday subsistence needs, a secondary function, which at times takes on major importance, is to provide the owner with products to be used, either directly or indirectly, in fulfilling his social obligations, both to his kinsmen and to the [43] [437] society as a whole. Accordingly, although European goods and cash are being increasingly used, exchanges or presentations of traditional Tongan products, such as fine mats, tapa cloth, yams, pigs, kava, and sugar cane, are still the 128 predominant means of maintaining such ties. In order to gain a better understanding of their inter-relationship with the agricultural system, a brief description and analysis of the well-ordered ties within the Tongan society is necessary. These ties or obligations fall into two general classes: kinship ties and social ties. The following treatment of Tongan social structure is based on the author's personal observations and works by Gifford (1927), Beaglehole and Beaglehole (1938), Nayacakalou (1959), Maude (1965), Aoyagi (1966), Latukefu (1967), Kaeppler (1971), and Morton (1972).

601 612 **Kinship Ties**

The most common Tongan terms denoting personal kind-

554
565 powerful socially and politically than the traditional
645 nobility.
646

622 On the village level, government is through town
[634] officers ('ofisa kolo) and district officers(pule fakavahe),
who are elected by the people. The 'ofisa kolo acts as the
mouthpiece of the central government and calls periodic
meetings (fono)to dictate government policy. His main
functions are to help in the distribution of land, to
collect taxes and water payments, and generally represent
634 the government. The pule fakavahe has similar respon-
sibilities over a district consisting of a number of
villages.

795 Of considerably more social importance than the govern-
ment, is the church, which is the primary focus of the
Tongan society. The official state religion is Free
Wesleyan or Methodist, of which approximately fifty percent
of all Tongans claim membership. Other important religious
denominations include Roman Catholic, Free Church of Tonga,
Church of Tonga, Seventh Day Adventists, Church of England,
and the Church of the Latter Day Saints (which is presently
794 the fastest growing denomination). The social focus of
621 most villages is on church activities: prayer meetings,
youth clubs, Sunday schools, choir practices, and sermons.
795 Each denomination has its own hierarchy of leadership, and
795 social status. Much of the churches' financial support, as
434 well as support in kind for ministers, teachers, and other

church officials comes directly or indirectly from the agricultural system. It is not uncommon for a family to give more than fifty percent of its annual income to support the church.

An increasingly important focus of Tongan society is on formal education. In many cases, the tangata poto (the wise or educated man) is considered almost on par with traditional leadership and has been able to ascend to positions of power and prestige within Tongan government and society. Villages and families play a major role in supporting church, government, and private schools through fees or by providing labor and produce. Teachers, especially headmasters, are becoming increasingly influential personalities in the contemporary society.

Divisiveness is sometimes brought about by diverse religious affiliations within a village, but usually the spirit of neighborliness within a given village, especially a small one, makes it a viable social unit. In the past more villages were comprised of members of the same kainga, matakali or even ha'a. At present, however, most villages are comprised of individuals of many different families, lineages, and religious denominations, but there is still a feeling of "oneness" and the concept of neighborliness or feitokoni'aki (helping one another) within the village and among affiliates of a common landlord. Traditionally, village leadership was in the hands of the noble. At

342 partially or entirely from local timber.

Table 19. Frequency of specified house types in the sample of 192 Tongatapu town allotments (some allotments had more than one family dwelling).

Village	Large Wooden	Large Brick	Small Wooden	Tongan Fale	Number of Houses
Nuku'alofa	71	11	19	56	157
Fo'ui	7	1	0	11	19
Niutoua	7	0	2	4	13
'Utulau	1	1	1	3	6
Tatakamotonga	9	2	2	14	27
Fua'amotu	4	0	0	10	14
Urban	71	11	19	56	157
Non-Urban	28	4	5	42	79
TOTAL	99	15	24	98	236

241 The agricultural system also provides numerous household accessories, tools and utensils, traditional exchange items, and attire for ceremonial or social occasions (Appendix E).

Monetary Needs

434 Much of the average Tongans' cash income comes directly or indirectly from the agricultural system. In the sample survey of 141 households, most sold coconuts or

[See Category 137, pp. 377-431--Analyst.]

434 copra for cash(Table 20), and many other sources of income
434 were also related to the agricultural system. Of 141
households, there are fifteen that have at least one female
462 wage earner, four with women shopkeepers, three with women
463 who sold products at the market, and 53 with women who made
and sold handicrafts.

434 Table 20. Percent of households having at least one member
463 receiving income from specified sources (Based on 141
369 households on Tongatapu).

Source	Non-Urban	Urban	Total
Full-time wage earners	21%	82%	40%
Part-time Wage earners	14%	27%	18%
Makes copra	45%	7%	33%
Sells coconuts	66%	32%	55%
Ships bananas	33%	2%	23%
Ships melons	13%	2%	10%
Ships other produce	9%	5%	8%
Sells at market	44%	2%	31%
Sells handicrafts	48%	23%	40%
Sells meat(beef,pork,etc.)	31%	7%	23%
Sells fish	14%	5%	11%
Sells in village	11%	0%	8%
Shopkeeper	3%	2%	3%
Remittances	30%	32%	50%

434 Table 20. Continued.

463 369 Other sources	5%	16%	9%
Total sample size	97	44	141

434 The great diversity of store goods which are now desired by the average Tongan family (Tables 21 and 22) emphasizes the growing need for cash. In addition, cash is needed for church, school fees, taxes, and to fulfill social obligations within the family, the village, and to nobles or even to the town officer in some cases.

439 [241] Overseas Income

The primary source of Tongan overseas income is the agricultural system. During the period from 1967 to 1971, products of agricultural origin constituted 97 percent by value of all exports (Table 23). The remaining 3 percent included re-exported motor vehicles, empty containers such as oil drums and gas cylinders, goods under bond, and personal effects. A small proportion of the total value of exports is made up of agricultural products sent by Tongans as gifts to relatives overseas, including yams, taro, bananas, watermelons, sugar cane, mangoes, kava, pineapples, and handicrafts. Such items fulfill social obligations and indirectly account for considerable income in the form of remittances from the (grateful) recipients of the goods.

[431] [602]

434 438 Table 21. Number of times specified items were listed as being commonly purchased at small village stores (based on 120 questionnaire responses).

Bread	90	Onions	8	Lard	3
Soap	84	Cocoa	7	Toilet Paper	3
Sugar	82	Jam	7	Face Powder	2
Kerosene	74	Canned Milk	6	Perfume	2
Salt	60	Candy	6	Baking Powder	2
Tinned Fish	57	Razor Blades	6	Watermelons	2
Flour	54	Tea	5	Buns	2
Matches	41	Hard Biscuits	5	Pepper	1
Tinned Beef	35	Thread	5	Coffee	1
Mutton Flaps	34	Starch	5	Needles	1
Cigarettes	31	Batteries	5	Aspirin	1
Bleach	20	Laundry Soap	5	Cheese	1
Butter	27	Soda pop	5	Soup	1
Curry Powder	20	Material	4		
Tobacco	14	White Gas	3		
School Supplies	12				

439 [824] [237] The exported handicrafts and curios include plaited ware, tapa cloth, leis, necklaces, slippers, or skirts made primarily with local plant materials. A small proportion, however, consist of sea shells and other objects collected from the surrounding reefs.

434
438 Table 22. Number of times specified items were listed as being commonly purchased at large trading stores in Nuku'alofa (based on 120 questionnaire responses).

Clothing & cloth	91	Wash boards	5
Mutton flaps	43	Ice cream	5
Fresh or frozen meat	31	Wholesale goods	5
Garden tools	29	Cosmetics	4
Cutlery	27	Sun glasses	3
China	23	Lard	3
Shoes	21	Seeds	3
Cooking ware	19	Paint	3
Knives	18	Bicycles	3
Cane knives	16	Furniture	3
Tinned food	11	Alcoholic beverages	2
School supplies	11	Umbrellas	3
Cups, glasses	9	Toys	2
Rope	9	Carpets	2
Radios	7	Steam irons	2
Sausages	7	Skindiving supplies	2
Carpenters tools	7	Sewing supplies	2
Nails	7	Beds	2
Wash tubs	7	Towels	2
Stoves	7	Sporting goods	2
Axes	6	Chicken feed	1
Fishing gear	6	Refrigerator	1
Timber	5	Blankets	1

Table 22. Continued.

Table cloth	1	Fertilizer	1

The fungus, Auricularia polytricha, which is exported to Hong Kong, is classified as an agricultural product by the Tongan Government, and although most of it comes from the island of 'Eua, some is still found during rainy periods on dead logs in forested areas of bush allotments on Tongatapu.

At present there is a concerted effort being made by the Agricultural Department and the Tonga Commodity Boards to diversify and increase agricultural exports in order to stabilize the economy. These efforts have increased production of garden vegetables, pineapples, watermelons, root crops, and, more recently, vanilla. Nevertheless, the major export crops continue to be coconuts and bananas.

Unfortunately, the market for copra is highly unstable, and both crops are susceptible to disease, pests, hurricanes, and periodic droughts. In the case of bananas, exports depend on unreliable shipping services to New Zealand. Nevertheless, coconuts and bananas are still the major commercial crops found on the traditional bush allotment. Consequently it is important to have some background on the production of these crops.

Copra and Other Coconut Products

Prior to World War II independent traders throughout

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 156]

244 178 [438] potato (Ipomoea batatas). These crops, all of which were infrequently cultivated before the turn of the century, now have become the most common items sold at Talamahu Market, and manioc and American taro were the two most widely cultivated crops in terms of acreage.

241 178 Increased Cash Cropping

There will probably be a continued expansion of cash cropping to supply both overseas markets and the expanding [242] [654] urban population on Tongatapu. The major focus of government extension work is the expansion of commercial cultivation of bananas, coconuts, and a variety of other established crops such as watermelon, pineapple, garden vegetables, and root crops; and experimental crops such as [435] macadamia nuts, onions, strawberries, and garlic. The rising prices of products at Talamahu market is also a major incentive for an increase in commercial production of both traditional and recently introduced crops.

434 439 178 000 Increased Cultivation of Crops Used for Handicrafts

With the rapid expansion of tourism throughout the Pacific, there is a great demand for the high quality Tongan handicrafts both in Tonga and overseas. Consequently, there could be a considerable expansion in the cultivation of plants such as paper mulberry (Broussonetia papyrifera), pandanus (Pandanus spp.), Job's tears (Coix lachryma-jobi), and bamboo (Bambusa sp.).

With increased tourist growth, Tongans are in direct competition with the tourists for space and for imported foodstuffs. Unless a tourist lives with a Tongan family, and very few do, the main tourist diet consists of fruits and breads from Tonga and imported foodstuffs. This importation of foodstuffs—much of it because of its relation to tourism—is also reflected in the Tongan economy by the Consumer Price Index (CPI). The CPI, heavily biased towards food items, was established in 1969 with a base of 100.0. In six years, the CPI has reached the astronomical figure of 172.4 (Figure 2).

Ever-increasing amounts of food must be imported to feed the growing number of tourists who compete with Tongans for certain goods. Despite this, tourist growth is encouraged. The impact on the "average" Tongan is startling, especially when he sees the price of food double in a single year at the local market. The impact on children is considerable. The Tongan Ministry of Health has pointed out that "protein-calorie malnutrition" is prevalent among many young Tongan children to a disturbing degree.[6]

Although the inflationary spiral in Tonga in the last few years, as evidenced by increased consumer prices, is obviously related to the generalized worldwide

[p. 89-B]

A. [For footnote, see p. 93-A--Analyst]

90: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

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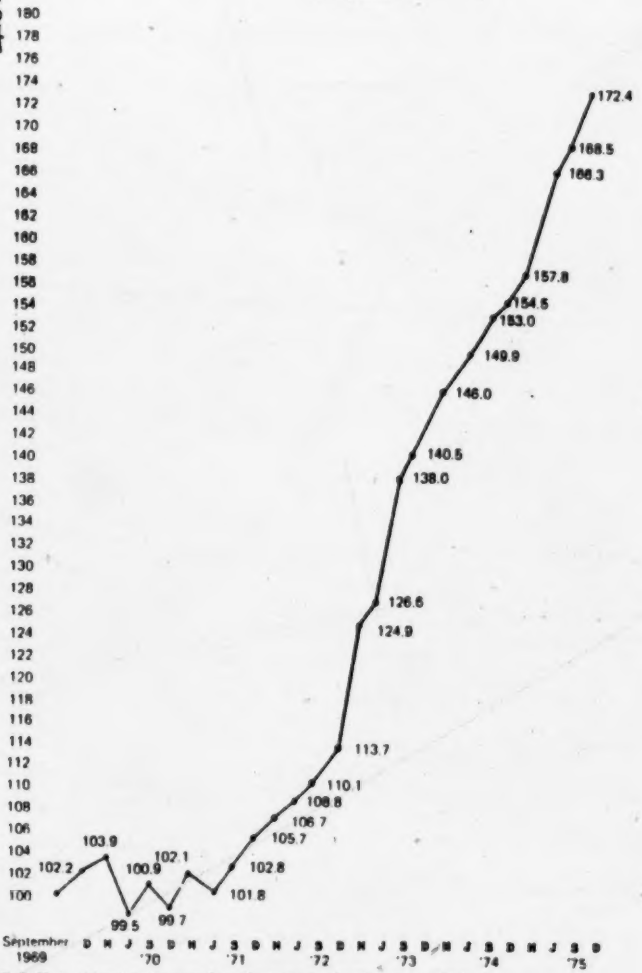
TONGAN CONSUMER PRICE INDEX:
September 1969 to December 1975
[Figure 2.]



S, D, M, J the end of the quarter, ending in September, December, March, June
SOURCE Kingdom of Tonga Publications (1970-1976)

167
464
179
24
[435]
871
464
[645]
457
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464
[439]
[593]
[586]
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> simply cannot find the same number of workers. "Price-hiking is becoming unavoidable as food items become scarce," Mr. Simiki said.[11] A A

In 1972 the Tongan Assistant Secretary in the Ministry of Finance pointed out that "every year only about 5 percent of the school-leavers find wage employment in the industrial and tertiary sectors" of the Tongan economy.[12] B A

As a result of this untenable situation, the New Zealand overseas work scheme was begun in 1971. This system contributed significantly to Tonga's favorable balance of payments in 1972-1973. In 1971-1972, net remittances by Tongans working overseas totaled some $1,250,000; and for 1972-1973, this had increased to approximately $2,000,000. This money, along with donations, gifts, and contributions from overseas ($2,150,000), helped to offset the Tongan trade deficit.[13] A (In 1972-1973 gross tourism earnings provided Tongans with some $1,530,000. Compared with the previous year, tourism revenues increased by some 24 percent.)

Though the work scheme improves the balance of payments in Tonga, most of the money earned by Tongans in New Zealand is eventually returned to New Zealand to pay for increased imports. Also, the overseas work scheme appears to be contributing to family tensions and an increased divorce rate in Tonga.[14] D A Crocombe has criticized the overseas work scheme as a form of "poorer independent islands subsidizing their rich big neighbors," even though the Tongan government requested the New Zealand government to initiate such a work program.[15] C A While there may be some short-term benefits to Tongans, long-range analysis of this work scheme may prove Crocombe correct.

The Tongan government and private entrepreneurs must encourage the diversification of the Tongan economy beyond short-term overseas work schemes. Tongans, for their part, must realize that tourism is not the ultimate solution to economic stability. A 1969 United Nations consultant's report stated:

> There is no immediate prospect of absorbing in gainful employment more than a very small proportion of those who cannot find work on the land. The visitor industry (tourism) is unlikely to be a really significant employer of labor . . . .[16] F A

Besides being small-scale, tourism is unreliable as a steady source of income for Tongans. In 1972, for example, at least forty tour groups cancelled their visits to Tonga because of the uncertainty of air travel to and from the Kingdom. Late in 1973 and early in 1974, five cruise ships cancelled their stops at Tonga

[p. 91-B]

A A, B A, C A, D A, E A, F A. [For footnotes, see pp. 93-A & 93-B--Analyst]

459 434 because of the international oil crisis. These cancellations resulted in a large loss of expected revenues.

Not only must the industrial sector of the 179 744 economy be expanded and diversified beyond tourist development, but public health problems in Tonga and 457 other islands must be dealt with. For example, in the [164] past Fiji and Tonga have experienced outbreaks of mosquito-carried Dengue fever. The fever not only incapacitates and demoralizes the native population, it frightens away tourists as well.

179 Tongans must develop a balanced design of tourist development, overseas work schemes, combined with the development and improvement of local living conditions, before the economy can be stabilized. The government is currently working on its Third Development Plan for 1975-1980, and new industries, such as local fish-canning and meat-processing plants, 179 have been suggested.[17 A A] Planned overseas aid from New 648 Zealand in the amount of $NZ5,000,000 over the next three years will be used to encourage and develop rural programs throughout the Kingdom.[18 A A] Such overseas support of the non-tourist sectors of the economy, combined with assistance from the United Nations Development Program for the tourist sector, could provide Tongans with balanced development.

The future of Tongans lies in greater cooperation with one another. In February of 1975, Tonga [439] joined the European Economic Community as an asso- [435] ciate member to obtain eventual stabilization of prices of Tongan items exported to Europe and possible financial aid from Europe. In 1974, Tonga and Fiji joined in a tourist promotion scheme, and more such Fijian-Tongan cooperative efforts are being planned. Late in 1976 the Pacific Islands Tourism Development Council Conference was held in Tonga. The theme of the conference revolved around cooperation in tourism efforts, and representatives were in attendance from American Samoa, Australia, the Cook Islands, Guam, Hawaii, Japan, Nauru, New Caledonia, New Zealand, North America, Papua New Guinea, Tahiti, the Trust Territory of the Pacific, and Western Samoa! Clearly, then, ideas about cooperative efforts are increasing. In August of 1976 Tonga was also represented at the Young Nations Conference held in Australia. The theme of that meeting stressed research and development in planning for the people of the South Pacific. For an integrated design for the future, all peoples should utilize as many resources as possible.[19 C A]

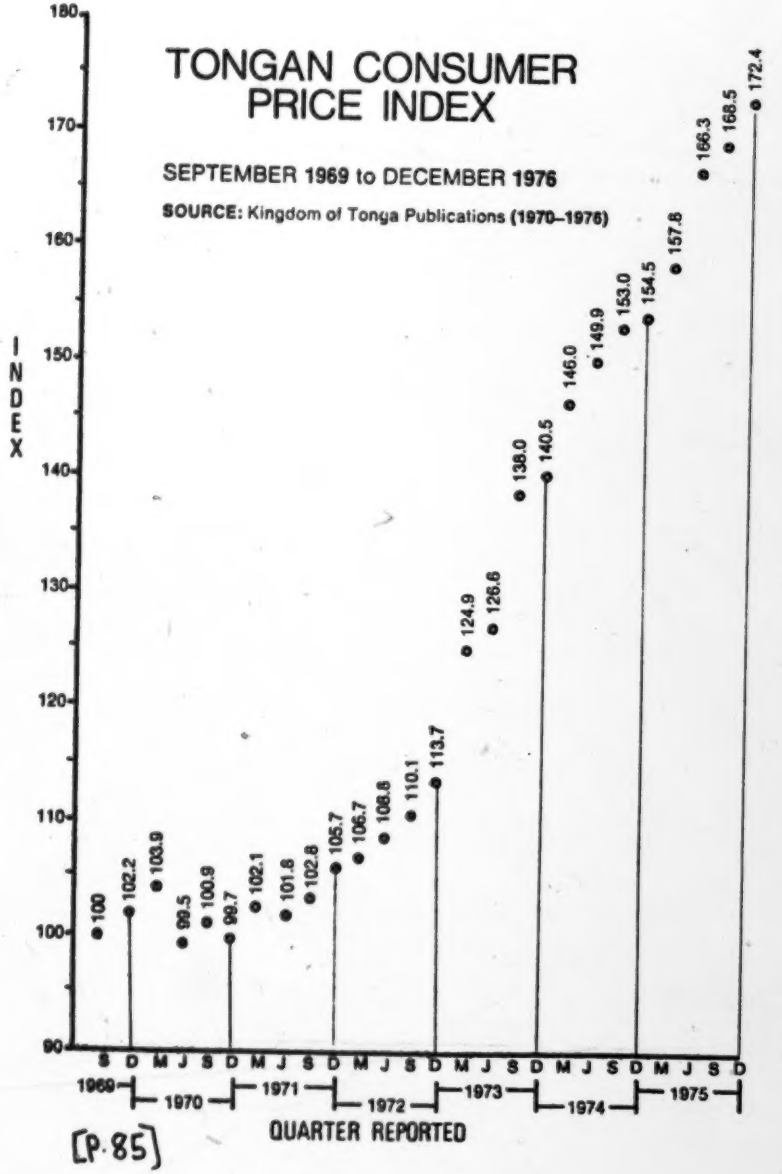
315 Oil may prove another source of foreign 648 exchange for Tonga. In November of 1968, a visiting Australian geologist confirmed natural oil seepage on Tongatapu Island, and exploratory drilling was conducted by a European-based consortium in 1970 and

[p. 92-A]

A A, B A A, C A A [For footnotes, see p. 93-B--Analyst]

91: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1977
OU9 Tonga OU9

Figure 1



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[P.85]

91: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1977
OU9 Tonga OU9

twenty-four cruise ships also called at Vava'u, approximately 180 miles north of Tongatapu, bringing 9,463 tourists to that island. In 1975, 17,500 tourists visited Vava'u as part of their cruise itinerary.

Figure 2
Tourists to Tonga by Ship and Plane: 1958 to 1975
(Landings at Tongatapu)

Year	*Passengers*	*Number of Ships*	*In-Passengers*	*Flights*
1958	1,715	3	64	n.a.
1959	2,600	5	45	8
1960	n.a.	7	189	23
1961	2,566	4	308	35
1962	3,677	6	524	66
1963	4,353	6	668	75
1964	5,626	10	992	117
1965	6,395	8	1,174	144
1966	14,561	20	1,460	146
1967	14,240	14	2,883	231
1968	11,111	12	3,465	182
1969	18,111	19	4,326	230
1970	21,025	24	4,001	324
1971	23,500	32	4,000	314
1972	27,259	29	4,599	358
1973	31,502	48	6,356	403
1974	36,308	43	6,403	397
1975	44,968	n.a.	6,770	n.a.

Sources: Kingdom of Tonga Premier's Report. 1958 +; Kingdom of Tonga (1970) DEVELOPMENT PLAN 1970-1975; P. D. Wallis 1971; A. Buchanan 1975. [n.a. = Not Available.]

The Director of the Tongan Visitors Bureau (TVB) wrote in 1973 that foreign exchange receipts generated through tourism amounted to approximately us$2,154,000, making tourism the second largest generator of foreign exchange after copra (us$3,052,000). In 1974 it was estimated that tourist revenue increased to approximately us$3,270,000, and that projected tourist-generated revenue could possibly amount to as much as us$15,300,000 by 1980. Tourism is definitely increasing in Tonga.

The Government of Tonga is interested in developing tourism for the apparent economic benefits. The TVB was created in 1971 to work towards that goal, and it is the TVB's function to disseminate information to promote tourism. A survey of tourist "likes" and "dissatisfactions" taken by the TVB indicated that many visitors felt that most Tongans did

91: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1977
OU9 Tonga OU9

Tonga, and they want to "see" Tonga; but all too often cruise passengers get only a look at a "phony-folk-culture" in action—a Disneyland of the Pacific, so to speak.

The air guests, fewer in number (but staying longer), may have a somewhat different experience. They have the opportunity to enjoy the recreational facilities of a tropical island—swimming, fishing, and snorkeling—and they may also have the opportunity to see more of the island at a gradual pace, to meet some of the truly hospitable Tongans on a person-to-person basis, and to share a truly cross-cultural educational experience. However, the actual experiences of the tourist can be less than this ideal.

Forster (1964, pp. 217-22) pointed out that one of the fascinating aspects of the tourist process in the Pacific is the deliberate creation of a "phony-folk-culture," which the indigenous inhabitants develop to provide "authentic native culture" to the tourists. For example, a popular tourist "attraction" is a display of dances in Tonga: the program may contain almost a dozen Fijian, Tahitian, Hawaiian, or New Zealand dances performed by the Tongan dancers but show only one or two Tongan dances. The fact is granted that a Tahitian *tamure* has a tremendous amount of visual impact, and a Fijian fire dance is dramatic, but Tongan dances have a beauty and symmetry of their own that should be performed for the visitors to Tonga.

It is this alteration of their basic culture that has prompted Tongans to consider legislating the tourist industry. They seek to ensure the active preservation of the traditional Tongan way of life and culture by integrating traditional patterns into mass tourism and not making traditional culture a contemporary "phony-folk-culture."

Other tangible and observable social problems have developed in the Kingdom as a result of the tourist influx: some Tongan children now beg from tourists at the major tourist attractions; prostitution and homosexuality appear to be increasing (not necessarily for the tourists but for the crew members of the cruise ships); tourists are harassed as they walk through city streets and villages; and price-gouging, especially for transportation, is a common complaint.

The substantial amount of quickly-generated cash derived from cruise ship passengers (for an "authentic" Polynesian feast, shore excursions around the island, and the purchase of handicrafts), when placed into circulation in the port towns, can be the occasion for a party. Drinking may commence even before the ship has weighed anchor and drunkenness appears to be a major source of crime. Tongans still enjoy their traditional *kava* drink, but as I have stated elsewhere, when individuals begin to consume more alcohol than *kava*, in violation of their Christian ethic, it is an indication that the basic fabric of their culture and society has shifted. In recent years Tongans have been evicted from their own

/19 cont./

181 friendly and hospitable as were their ancestors (8)

[113)

8. See John Reinhold Forster, Observations made during a voyage round the world /cited in English/. London 1778. p. 235; G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. Berlin 1778. p. 359; J. Cook, Beschreibung einer Entdeckungsreise in das stille Meer* /Description of an exploratory journey in the Pacific Ocean and up to the Northpole/ in Geschichte /History/ loc. cit. vol. VI. Berlin 1787. p. 277; J.T. Plant, Handbuch einer vollstandigen Erdbeschreibung und Geschichte Polynesiens /Handbook of a complete geography and history of Polynesia/ vol. II. Leipzig and Gera 1799. p. 375; J. Martin., An account of the natives of the Tonga Islands /cited in English/ vol. I. London 1817. p. 70/71; idem., loc. cit. vol. II. London 1817. p. 166; S.S. Farmer, Tonga and the Friendly Islands /cited in English/. London 1855. p. 150.

*und nach dem Nord-pol hinauf

--aside from acts of considerable brutality in wartime. Life in the

181 villages is always peaceful (9)
674
431
[578)

9. Although, as a result of the "liberation" of the commoners and their living together in villages, there is sometimes a certain rivalry between individual inhabitants who are ambitious and strive for influence, yet their general quiet-peaceful disposition seldom lets such tensions become visible and break out into open conflict.

(the last murder in Tonga occurred about 25 years ago), and on the small islands every Tongan can even still ask every village inhabitant for something he happens to need--be it a yam tuber or a

181 horse--and he gets it without a direct return service. Most Tongans
431 are certainly not attached to material things, they can very easily give away and make presents and take pleasure in it. (10)

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10. This may even involve larger objects. For example, in 1951 a young Tongan on Nomuka asked a fellow-villager for permission to harvest coconuts on the latter's plantation. This was granted him, and his copra production

[No p.19 in translated manuscript--Analyst]

/19 cont./

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434 brought him a profit of £T 75 (about 700 German marks).

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574 In the villages of the small Tonga Islands almost every group having a meal together will invite one or more passersby to eat with them; the guest is given the best, and at the larger festivals which, since the "democratization," have moved more within the commoners' realm (private persons, kautaha or cooperative labor pools, and churches as organizers), they usually do not economize in expenses.

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177 European influence has been able to change but little their general good nature and hospitality, especially since life in the villages has remained easy and carefree. Yet the influx of money is

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184 to be observed. On the small islands there are relatively few natives who /20/ hand over to their fellow villagers the products of their plantations and other goods for money, (11)

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11. Often they exchange value for value, for example a length of tapa for a pig. However, giving without direct quid pro quo, this old system of Tongan community life (a perpetual assurance of reciprocity) is still, on an island like Nomuka, more frequent than barter; it is practiced mostly in the Ha'apai group, less in Tongatapu and Vava'u, and seems rather suppressed in places like Nuku'alofa and Neiafu.

and they are generally felt to be outsiders in the community. In places like Nuku'alofa and Neiafu, on the other hand, there are many of them and there, in the gradually urbanized settlements with European commercial enterprises, selling is taken for granted among the Tongans.

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434 Yet business acumen is little developed among these natives. (12)

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12. For example, Tongans who help the "medicine dispenser" on the plantations of Nomuka would rather accept a packet of tobacco than a seven shillings wage per day, though in the shops of the same island they have no

/20 cont./

181 434 435 trouble getting twice the amount of tobacco for their money; in the Ha'apai group the Tongans who start businesses on their island "forget" the price of individual goods, which are then often sold for considerably less than on the main island.

181 177 439 Toward the European, too, the Tongan is good-natured, generous and hospitable; however, among the natives who have many dealings with Europeans there are a few who try to exploit and overcharge the Whites--usually in an inept manner, to be sure. Yet it seems noteworthy that the Tongans of the small islands, amid the flood of money of the postwar period and in view of their great interest in European goods, have not succumbed to copra- and money-fever. The reasons for this are less self-discipline and will power than the relatively small natural needs, as well as the basic Tongan trait of imperturbable equanimity.

181 These natives have also kept their cheerfulness--apparently undiminished. (13)

[113] 13. See also G. Forster, loc. cit. IV, p. 359; Voyage de Dentrecasteaux. ed. by M. Rossel. vol. I. Paris 1808, p. 308/309; Ch. Wilkes, Narrative of the United States exploring expedition /cited in English/. vol. III. London 1845. p. 26; H.N. Moseley, Notes by a naturalist /cited in English/. London 1879. p. 287.

181 522 [831] The majority of Tonga have a strong sense of humor. Naturally, boys and girls are particularly cheerful and merry, even to the point of boisterousness. The older ones, while observing a certain self-control and restraint, are not much different, so that even in between the lamentations of a cortege a cheerful comment accompanied by a fleeting smile may by noted. Tongan humor often satisfies European demands, frequently it is rather simple and silly for the serious White, and sometimes it leaves nothing to be desired in the way of

/50 cont./

292 Commoners wear the ta'o-vala when they appear before chiefs, just
[565] as the latter don their ta'o-vala when they have dealings with the people. Even the most "modern" Tongan who wears trousers as a
[178] matter of principle, changes into a vala and ta'o-vala for a fono, for instance. With the ta'o-vala he shows his respect toward authorities, (125)

[113] 125. This ancient custom is already noted in: Geschichte der christlichen Missionen auf den Freundschafts- oder Tonga-Inseln /History of the Christian missions on the Friendly or Tonga Islands/. Bremen. Cincinnati, Ohio. 1857. p. 173.

and it is commonly considered bad taste to wear the ta'o-vala over
292 trousers. Crown Prince and Premier Tungi, who studied in Australia
177 and visited London, sets a good example by wearing the vala and ta'o-vala day after day, and recommends this attire to all administrative employees. Some Tongans "who take pride in their appearance" --in the seaports as well as on the small islands--wear a tie and a European lounge jacket for church on Sunday, along with the customary attire (shirt, vala, ta'o-vala).

291 In contrast to olden times, therefore, nobles as well as commoners
292 wear the same type of clothing. The elegant and valuable mats have
184 even come down to the domain of the people, since many commoners use
565 them as ta'o-vala. Some of the commoners own more and better clothing than the nobles living on the same islands. (126)

[434] 126. For example, the nopele ("highest ranking chief" see p. 95 of text. FS) T. told the author that he could no longer keep step with this development, and that he owns only a few shirts (T. lives on rather small rents from his landed property and on /the yield from/ his plantings, whereas some Tongan of the younger generation are engaged in copra production and, as commoners, are economically the stronger ones).

/203 cont./

245 the same throughout the year, since the months in which more nuts fall
433 (summer) they are usually not all gathered, whereas in the periods of rather more scarcity (winter and the dry seasons) the natives seem concerned about every nut. On a plantation of 8½ acres an average of
245 433 approximately two tons of copra may be produced in a year; since the
434 [435] price paid by the Copra Board for A-quality was, for example, 62 £T. per ton in 1952, the owner of such a plantation was able to earn about 124 £T. (or about 1170 German marks) that year for his copra, if he delivered the best quality. The plantations that are available to individual families, however, differ in size, (528)

528. See p. 173 ff.

so that the profit in terms of money from copra production fluctuates very much among individual households, and at present amounts to perhaps 30 and 300 £T. annually. (529)

529. In 1952 in the Vava'u group, for instance, every household made an average of 170 £T.

245 435 Moreover, the price of copra constantly rises and falls on the world market, (530)

458 434 530. Before the second World War the price paid for one ton of copra in Tonga dropped to 4 £T.

so that the Tongans, with their heavy dependence on copra production as their most important source of money, have experienced "rich" and "poor" periods during the past decades. Nonetheless, with the money
439 they receive for their copra production the natives are able to buy
197 various imported goods which contribute in some respects to a change
511 in their material culture as compared with the past. Most of these goods are not vitally necessary for the islanders, for today all Tongans can still support themselves solely by means of their agriculture (along with their fishing and domestic-animal raising). Since the quantities of bark cloth and mats that were made in the

511 /203 cont./ Since the quantities of bark cloth and mats that were made in the
439 Archipelago have long since ceased to be used for clothing, as a re-
177 sult of European influence, but only for the sleeping places and
29 for festive occasions, the natives are obliged to buy fabric for
65 clothing or readymade clothing; (531)
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531. See chapter on "Clothing," p. 67.

they must also pay the relatively low taxes and make substantial
511 contributions to churches. Aside from that, all money--and this is,
439 as a rule, the larger part of the proceeds from their copra work--
177 /204/ is used to buy supplementary European amenities. Among these
are, first of all foodstuffs such as canned meat and fish, flour, sugar,
etc., luxuries, above all tobacco, furthermore household objects such
as lamps (including oil), dishes, bowls and pots, equipment, raw
material and tools for building, fishing and woodworking, and finally
things which for the Tongans are definite luxury articles, such as
bicycles and cabinet-type sewing machines, perfume and powder.

245 Thus copra production has exerted a certain influence on the
434 daily life of the Tongans. The whole family takes part in this work--
(592) at any rate, in some phases of it; the men devote many hours of the
(461) year to it. The money they make with this activity is largely con-
(439) verted into goods that change the external picture of Tongan culture--
(177) from clothing and food to house-building and household goods; money
and goods also affect the character of the people and their inter-
relations--though up to now only to a slight extent. (532)

532. See pp. 17-22, 29-31.

(439) For the Tongans state the duty on the export of copra and the import
of goods that results from this is the most substantial source of
income. (533)

533. See Colonial Office, Report on Tonga for
the years 1950 and 1951 /cited in English/.
London, 1952. p. 8/9. Copra export rose to

100: Koch--305 E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1955 OU9 Tonga OU9

/204 cont./

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16,704 tons in 1950 and to 19,222 tons in 1951 (ibid., p. 12); only a few white planters are included in these amounts.

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Finally, the fact that the Tonga Islands, through their copra production, have become a member (though a small one) of world economy is having a certain political, commercial and, above all, economic importance for the natives, depending on the state of the world market.

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Yet the possibility of producing copra is too limited on the islands, and the traditional economic and communal system of the Tongans is too closely knit, and the people themselves are too even-tempered for this to lead to the destruction of the traditional life of the natives. The old, basic economic structure has remained. Copra and money have become an essential attribute to their former way of life, but still only an attribute that can be renounced, though renunciation would bring with it all kinds of hardships.

D. Plaiting, Knotting, and Tapa-Making

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[462]

Most Tongan women even today spend a large part of their time plaiting, knotting and making tapa.

/205/ Among the plait work, mats are particularly important on account of the labor involved in making them and their significance for Tongan daily life as well as for festivities. The following types may be distinguished: floor mats, seat mats, sleeping mats, belt mats and display mats; the "pola" plaited of coconut palm leaves, which are used to make walls and to cover roofs, are also to be mentioned here. Some of the mat types--because of various raw materials and different ways of making them--must be further subdivided into individual types. The following list may give a picture of how the most common Tongan mats are used and made:

/240 cont./

000 opposite.

464 Nor do the Tongans like to hire themselves out for money--neither
465 to whites nor to their own people. There may be several reasons for
436 this attitude: First of all, these natives have considerably pride;
181 besides, the use of money in many areas of life is not in the Tongan tradition; (642)

642. See the request for things without quid pro quo (pp. 136-137) and the acknowledgement of work with good meals (pp. 137-139).

and finally, though money is quite useful to the natives of all the islands of the Archipelago (for going shopping at the stores), it is not all that vitally necessary, since they can themselves obtain everything that is absolutely essential for existence (except clothing) from the soil and the sea.

43 Thus today only a few Tongans who have a rather un-Tongan
181 enterprising spirit carry on a trade in the sense described above.
178 For example, in 1951/52 the native L., about 25 years old,
472 (who gained experience in Nuku'alfa as an auto mechanic, and also worked there as a carpenter and house painter and had visited Fiji and Samoa) buys himself an old broken down truck, on Tongatapu, for 90£T. and spare parts for about 200£T. He repairs the truck himself and has it transported to Lifuka on the auxiliary ketch "Aoniu," where he then drives it daily /241/ for hire by the islanders (especially
472 transporting copra and other freight, not so much passengers). In
477 order to "break into the business" and probably also because of genuine willingness to be helpful, L. charges 20 to 30 percent less
6 [434] for his trips than his "competitors." He takes in 6 to 7£T. a day and will pay off the cost of the purchase of his vehicle in about three months.

472 St., who is about 20 years old, and says he has an English

/241 cont./

472 grandfather, also started a trucking service on Lifuka with a truck that he bought secondhand for 300£T. He makes trips day after day, (434) at any time, and earns more than 100£T a month. During the free time left to him he works on his new European frame house (with corrugated metal roof). Its furnishings consist of a table, a small bench, a chair, a plank bed, a few mats and a number of oil cans, as well as parts for his car. He also owns a large radio that he had sent from Australia for 55£T. St., who impresses one as being restless, nervous (157) and driven, and who is apparently overworked, says that he is trying to earn lots of money in order to give his children a good education (perhaps in Australia or New Zealand).

472 295 The Tongan V.F. (in Pangai, Lifuka) works his plantation, but has in addition discovered a unique possibility of making money: he buys lemon extract and sugar at the shopkeeper's, his wife makes drinks from these and he sells them soda fountain style to his countrymen. To do this he sets himself up in the shed of the Copra Board in Pangai where there is a great deal of traffic and where the air is hot (435) and dry. He charges sixpence for a glass of lemonade. On "good" days, (434) that is, when it is particularly hot, he earns 5 to 8£T. V.F. well remembers his "best" day, December 31, 1951, on which he took in 13£T. With the money he defrays all special expenses of his family. Yet he (454) lives in a simple house of ancient Tongan style and is saving a great deal of money because he wants to assure his sons of a "good future" (education).

472 To this category of people engaged in trade (that is, people carrying on independent activities purely for economic gain) belong especially the storekeepers (who procure goods in the chief towns and sell them on the islands); likewise to be classed in this category are individual Tongans and cooperatives that own sailboats and make

/243 cont./

000 pineapples.

436 178 The natives have become well accustomed to the significance and use of money, since they take for granted shopping even in places where Tongans own the trading stations. Here no one tries /to invoke/ [425] the old system of "asking something without direct return service"; [437] the established prices of the shopkeepers are paid without demur, nor [435] is there any bargaining or dickering.

434 432 436 The Tongans use the money they have earned mainly to buy fabric for clothing and readymade clothing, oil to burn, soap, matches, tobacco, canned mean and fish, flour, sugar, housewares and tools, to pay land rent and taxes and to contribute to churches. Usually the native spends his money rapidly. For example, if he has received 20 £T. for delivering copra, he often immediately buys 10 to 15 £T. worth of the aforementioned items and sometimes also things for which he has no particular use. After a while, he has made more copra and the process is repeated. Many Tongans regularly spend all their money, knowing that they will presently produce more copra and 436 earn money anew. How could they have the European concept of money [197] when there is no dependence on it here and all the customary and usually necessary European calculation is completely unknown to most Tongans. They can also live on /the products of/ their plantations 425 426 and the sea, and if they can no longer put off payments due on their 436 pole tax and land rent or the purchase of a new article of clothing, 198 they may ask for the required sum, according to their old custom, from a relative or a neighbor and--especially on the small islands-- there is scarcely anyone who will, without special reason, break with the old system of "anticipated reciprocity" and leave such a 426 wish unfulfilled. Often they do indeed regard such money as borrowed 436 and return it after a time; but if the debtor completely forgets to 198

/243 cont./

426 436 178 give it back, the creditor will not be much concerned and will regard the matter as settled, in accordance with the old Tongan custom.

436 434 [431] There is no doubt that the natives have learned to value money and like it, but even the present high copra prices have not led to a "copra intoxication" and /244/ a "money fever." They often give away whole loads of coconuts, and in the Copra Board in Neiafu, for example, it was observed in 1952 that the Tongans who could not be paid the full copra price as a result of a temporary shortage of pence coins, did not come back even after several weeks to pick up their three-or ten-pence.

454 436 [428] [432] [439] 434 436 For most of the natives the idea of saving, in the sense of a continuous accumulation of sums of money, is unfamiliar. About four decades ago many families were said to have saved relatively large sums in order to build. At that time several of the European-type frame houses were erected. Today large objects such as dwellings, cement tanks and carts have often been inherited, and money is spent on clothing and food and other European goods. Given the normal demand, the to some extent, artificially produced demand by the shopkeeper's promotion, and the relatively high prices, money is soon spent in a large family.

436 454 472 Though the majority of Tongans do not use money purposefully (in the European sense), there is nevertheless no dearth of examples of deliberate management of money after the manner of whites. Thus, for example, F.S., a Tongan shopkeeper on Nomuka, through carefully considered management, within nine months (1951/52), increased his capital from 61£T. to about 800£T. and the two aforementioned truck drivers as well as the lemonade seller on Lifuka (648)

648. See pp. 361-364.

[181] may also serve as example of a wise use of money. These natives,

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critical in other Polynesian island groups. In the case of Fiji, the issue is not one of overpopulation as much as land distribution among racial elements of the population (Mohan 1961). In Western Samoa and the Cook Islands, population expansion is drawn off by migration to New Zealand (Curson 1973). In American Samoa, population expansion is released to the American West Coast and Hawaii.

Tonga, having had a long history of political independence, has no such outlet for her growing population. Migration has not played a significant role in the population characteristics of Tonga in the past several decades. (This refers only to movements of population out of the national limits of Tonga in a permanent sense. Internal migration, i.e., rural to urban, is a significant consideration and will be treated in some depth within this research.) Presently, the only notable migratory trend is in temporary Tongan labor movements to Australia, New Zealand and nearby islands, in search of employment. The majority of these laborers return to Tonga within a year and, therefore, do not provide an effective or permanent outlet for Tongan population (Clark 1974). However, of significance is the additional capital and purchasing power enjoyed by this labor group, upon their return to Tonga.

Eliminating the probability of large scale migration, Tonga is faced with three basic alternatives in the foreseeable future: (1) establish and maintain a population control program which will stabilize the expanding population at a level capable of being sustained by Tongan agriculture and the limited national resource base; (2) support the growing national population through an

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423 subleasing is common throughout the islands, and most frequently,
427 payment is in a traditional means, such as an occasional basket of taro or yams, or on a special occasion, a small pig.

511 Upon initial inspection, the information presented thus
423 far suggests a land shortage in the Kingdom. However, this interpretation is not necessarily valid. When confronted by statistics showing less than one-half of the Tongan taxpayers possessing allotments, several qualifications must be recognized. Misallocation and maldistribution of land certainly exists. However, none of the interviewed population, even in the squatters section of the
511 capital, appeared to be critically short of food. In cases where
426 land is totally unavailable for household cultivation of vegetables,
431 it is traditional to borrow or receive subsistence foodstuffs from
511 neighbors, friends, or relatives. In this way even the totally landless Tongans benefit from garden produce. (Food quality does vary within the Tongan popualtion, and this will be discussed further within a later chapter.)

241 Borrowing land for cash cropping or purposes other than
434 subsistence food production is rare. In very few interviews with
423 landless Tongans did the sale of cash crops contribute to the
425 income of the household, and this fact was often reflected signifi-
511 cantly in the income of the landless family. However, landlessness
434 should not be considered synonymous with poverty in Tonga. Land-
431 less households, though enjoying less agricultural cash income, often receive income from more fortunate relatives, in the form of gifts. (While the most frequent extra-subsidiary expense

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434 encountered in survey responses was church contribution, the second
431 most frequent expense was cash gifts to relatives.) In addition,
434 landless households may receive cash from relatives working overseas, most frequently in New Zealand, though also in Australia, Samoa and Hawaii. In a few cases, landless households receive as much or more income from overseas sources than the total income of a landholding Tongan.

241 Additional alternatives open to landless Tongans include a
427 variety of sharecropping arrangements, the most common being an agreement to harvest a prearranged quantity of produce, for which no return to the landowner is made. A modification of this is the harvesting of the entire crop by the landless family, and sharing the profits, half and half, with the landowner.

423 Still another alternative enabling landless households to
427 obtain land is the paying for such through an unofficial rent system.
685 The renting or leasing of land under this arrangement is, strictly speaking, illegal. However, use of land is often granted in exchange for gifts of vegetables, pigs, labor or even small amounts of cash paid to the landowner.

423 The landless element in Tonga is rapidly growing, and undoubtedly will become a major social and economic issue in the Kingdom's future. However, at present, significant or widespread social unrest related to the issue of land tenure is not evident.
423 Of those interviewed, 21 percent believed the present land tenure
829 system to be unsatisfactory, due to the lack of sufficient land. This opinion was not restricted to landless households, but was

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CHAPTER V

AGRICULTURAL PATTERNS

The Traditional System

Economically, Tonga is supported primarily by agriculture. Production of primary agricultural products accounts for approximately 65 percent of the nation's employment and the majority of all export earnings (96 percent in 1969). In addition to subsistence cropping, bananas and coconut are most frequently raised as cash crops. Copra is currently Tonga's major agricultural export, seconded by bananas. While the export value of bananas was greater than copra in 1967 and 1968, the occurrence of diseases, which affect the banana plant, permitted copra to regain its dominance. Copra is expected to remain the major agricultural cash crop in Tonga, during the near future.

Most Tongan men earn their livelihood as farmers, having three basic production activities. Production of subsistence crops for family consumption is the major concern of the majority of these men. Additional production activity concerns crops for local sale and crops for exportation to international markets.

Table 13 presents the major labor divisions within the Tongan Kingdom. While only 66.5 percent of the male population is engaged in agricultural employment, recent surveys indicated that a majority of the remaining work force are also part-time farmers, producing

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241 ranged from spontaneous growth to a safeguard against periods of
182 food shortage.

241 Entering land into fallow was found to be a gradual process. Tubers, and occasionally bananas and plantain, may continue to be harvested from the plot for several years after the cessation of active cultivation. Coconuts are also produced in fallowing plots, independent of the bush fallow system.

Increasingly, in more densely populated areas of the Kingdom, this combination of fallow and cropping is being practiced, whereby a farmer plants cassava on the fallow plot and allows grasses and weeds to grow unhindered. The only incidence of weeding is at the time of planting and then in only the immediate planting site. This activity may last for several years, or occasionally for the entire fallow period, followed by the planting of yams or
[23] taro. Only in western Tongatapu was the addition of any fertilizer (an occasional application of small quantities of pig manure) noted.

241 Fallowing is traditional to Tongan agriculture. However,
178 due to population growth in many areas of the Kingdom, increasing
[182] demand for land is modifying the fallow system. Surveys indicated an average fallow time of three to six years. It was the opinion of over 81 percent of those farmers interviewed, and who had land in fallow, that the average fallowing time is evidencing a slow but
[434] steady decrease. Farmers are finding it necessary to devote more of their acreage to some form of semi-permenant cultivation, in order to meet subsistence requirements, or to secure an adequate level of cash income through local sale of produce.

439 [245] [241] to the Tonga Produce Board. The Produce Board also handles the export of vegetables, melons and miscellaneous fruit and agricultural production directed to the international market.

241 Cash cropping, as mentioned previously, consists mainly of two broad categories: long- and short-term production. In addition, each may further be classified as either for domestic or international sale, although short-term croppings (i.e., vegetables, fruit, and melons) are usually domestically sold and long-term (i.e., coconut products and bananas) are international export items.

Cash cropping remains largely in the hands of Tongan officials, with only a few exceptions, including church plantations. The European contribution to this agricultural component is decreasing as leases expire and are not renewed.

439 245 Coconuts, copra, and other coconut products are the major cash crop of the Kingdom, representing as much as 85 percent of total agricultural exports (Table 18).[A] 245 Survey responses indicated 434 that all landholders rely upon the sale of copra for at least a portion of the household cash income. While statistics from the Department of Agriculture evidenced that the majority of coconut sales originate on Tongatapu, survey data revealed that the proportion of total household income, earned from coconut production, is 241 [245] greatest in Ha'apai. The fact that Ha'apai soils are often not ideally suitable for large scale production of other cash crops, such as bananas, may represent an explanation for this apparent contradiction. Also, in areas of high population density, such as Ha'apai, a smaller proportion of land can be allocated to

[A] [See Category 439, p. 103--Analyst.]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 104]

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Fishing activity is often not considered part of the agricultural sector of an economy. However, in Tonga fishing represents a significant cash input to the local agricultural base. Of the total survey sample, over 15 percent of those questioned indicated that they derived some part of the household cash income from fishing. The Tongan government obviously considers fishing to be of significant value to the national economy, in that it includes evaluations of fishing catch and sale within the annual reports, and operates one major fishing vessel, the Ekiaki. This ship is of modern construction and contains some refrigeration and pre-processing facilities. In 1973, the Ekiaki landed a total of 203,243 pounds of fish, representing a catch percentage (catch per 100 hooks) slightly better than Korean and Chinese operations in the region. This total catch was smaller than anticipated, due to mechanical breakdowns and the lack of trained operation personnel.

Tongan waters are a largely untapped source of food, including such fish species as tuna, bill-fish, and shark (Report of the Minister of Agriculture 1973, p. 30). In 1973, sale of fish through the Vuna market equaled over $15,000, or 120,000 pounds. However, demand for fish in Nuku'alofa far excelled this amount. Personal observations evidenced that on those days when fish is to be sold, crowds of consumers wait hours before the market opens.

Despite the fact that domestic demand for fish is unsaturated, 40 percent of the Ekiaki's total catch, for the year 1973, was

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sent to canneries in Pago-Pago.[1] A recent Japanese survey, which mapped the most productive Tongan fishing grounds, suggested that up to 90 percent of the potential catch could be exported to Japan (Kyokuyo, Hogai Co. Ltd. 1965, p. 2). In view of the domestic demand for fish products, plus the nutritional status of many urban Tongan inhabitants (to be discussed in the following chapters), such exportation would be totally irresponsible to the needs of the Tongan people.

226 434 228

Small scale, private household fishing activity has done little to meet domestic demand. Survey responses indicated that the lack of investment capital for necessary fishing equipment is the major obstacle to expansion of private fishing enterprises. 228 227 439 651 Discussion of this problem with part-time and full-time fishermen revealed that not only is the basic cost of equipment prohibitive, but a 33 percent import tax, charged by the government for such items (i.e., nets, lines and hooks) makes purchase impossible for 228 655 the average Tongan. While this situation insures the governmental monopoly on commercial fishing, it hinders the expansion of fishing activities necessary for meeting the domestic demand for fish products.

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Another major obstacle to the expansion of fishing activities in Tonga is the general lack of preservation and holding [655] facilities throughout the islands. Again, the only adequate

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[1] Ironically, much of this same catch is processed in canneries and resold as tinned fish products to Tonga at a sizable increase in price.

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facilities are governmentally controlled. Thus, most fishermen catch only that which will satisfy family needs, plus a small quantity for immediate sale.

Data determining income levels from all types of cash food production (including fishing) was collected during household surveys.[1] Range of income was from zero to $1,200 per year, with a mean of $480 per year for those farmers selling produce. Sale of copra results in the largest cash income, with vegetables (all types) second and bananas third.[2]

During survey discussions concerning income, it became apparent that cash incomes have increased substantially over the past several years. As a result, Tongan farmers are enjoying an increase in purchasing power, reflected in the purchase of non-traditional items, such as imported foodstuffs or the purchase of food items from local producers. However, while few farmers are totally dependent upon this new cash-based living, the significant increase in the use of canned goods, sugar, bread and assorted imports is an obvious indication of the direction of this trend.

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[1] The average Tongan farmer keeps no record of his yearly or monthly earnings and survey information probably reflects mere estimations. In addition, in several instances, it was apparent that income levels were being exaggerated or minimized for one or more reasons. Although obviously skewed data was excluded from survey data compilation, it is reasonable to assume a margin of error still exists. For this reason, only range and mean of income are used, in an attempt to minimize the effects of misleading data.

[2] The other major contributors to the household cash income include the sale of handicrafts, plus income derived from relatives or overseas sources.

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434 178 (This concept, which is becoming more notable in all segments of Tongan population, is analyzed within the following chapters.)

241 178 In summary, while many aspects of Tongan agriculture have remained basically unchanged through history, there have been several significant alterations with respect to population growth, 178 land distribution and cropping practices. The most significant of 434 these changes has been the development of cash cropping and the [241] subsequent rise in purchasing power of the average Tongan farmer. [439] An indication of these alterations is the increased incidence of [262] material items within the household, plus reliance upon imported food products, such as tinned meat, fish, bread and sugar.

245 241 [178] The continually good market for copra and coconut products has resulted in many 'apis being planted almost entirely with palms, and less production of traditional foodstuffs. In addition, in densely populated areas where food crops are interplanted with palms, the competition for sunlight, soil nutrients, and moisture insures significantly lower yields from food plants.

178 241 Low production yields associated with decreases in soil fertility are frequently the result of the shift to a more continuous exploitative cropping system. This change is stimulated by the 178 241 Tongan farmer's desire for increased cash income, and by increasing population pressure on land available for cultivation. This popu- 161 lation pressure is intensified by the migration of individuals to Tongatapu from the other island groups, especially Ha'apai. The Tongan situation is becoming increasingly intensive, with often a crop/fallow period ratio of one to one, and a supported population